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'Rapid Progress' Possible at Geneva Arms Talks

PM0410135189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by own correspondent Yu. Kosinskiy: "Rapid Progress Is Possible"]

[Text] Geneva—A new round of talks on limiting and halting nuclear tests has opened in Geneva, where the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space armaments resumed last week after a 2-month break.

International observers in Geneva's Palace of Nations are showing special interest in the USSR-U.S. dialogue on nuclear tests. Indeed, in light of the previous stage of the talks, which ended in August, its participants essentially failed to solve a single one of the key issues under discussion connected with the elaboration of a mechanism for verifying the action of the 1974 Treaty on Limiting Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests. In this connection, U.S. delegation head Paul Robinson was forced to admit that the Americans have insufficient relevant instructions from "on high" to respond to the Soviet initiatives and move forward at the talks. The Soviet side was also making an active quest for possible solutions. Then came E.A. Shevardnadze's September meetings with J. Baker in Jackson Hole (Wyoming) and President Bush in Washington, at which, among other important questions, key elements of the 1974 treaty verification mechanism were discussed and agreed on.

But today, commenting on the prospects for the new round of Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear tests, international observers in the Palace of Nations stress that the compromise reached in Wyoming enables the United States and the USSR to ensure rapid progress at the resumed talks on nuclear and space armaments, in the context of which a dialogue on tests is also taking place. The talks delegations have instructions to complete work on the verification protocols to the 1974 and 1976 treaties. This paves the way for them to be signed during the upcoming Soviet-U.S. summit and for activation of the treaties on limiting underground nuclear weapons tests and underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes.

In the future, this result would make it possible to switch to the discussion of even greater restrictions on nuclear test explosions on the path to halting them completely. The talks participants regard this as a perfectly realistic prospect. In particular, I. Palenykh, head of the Soviet delegation at the talks on tests, believes that in the course of the new round it will be possible to complete three-fourths of all the work that has to be done before the start of the Soviet-American summit. For the first time in recent months the normally cautious foreign political observers and observers at the talks on nuclear and space armaments in Geneva are astonishingly unanimous in their optimistic prognoses. They point out that it was definitely the Soviet Union that took the initiative in clearing the impasses that had developed in the talks. The influential Swiss bourgeois newspaper JOURNAL DE GENEVE stresses that a compromise proposed by the Soviet Union made it possible to bring about the signing in 1987 of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, while M.S. Gorbachev's new initiatives, set out in the letter to Bush, ensured the success of the recent talks between the heads of the Soviet and U.S. foreign policy departments in Wyoming and the productive nature of the recent meeting between E.A. Shevardnadze and the U.S. president in Washington.

Attention is also drawn to the positive changes in the NATO stance in connection with the Soviet peace initiatives of the perestroyka period. NATO Secretary General Woerner, who has just addressed a session of the Swiss-American Chamber of Trade in Zurich, stressed that the North Atlantic bloc does not intend to get left behind by the initiatives in the disarmament sphere and intends to support changes in the East by peaceful means. Woerner noted that NATO had accepted President Bush's proposal on reducing conventional armaments and had demonstrated its willingness not to balk at radical steps in this sphere.

Soviet Experts To Visit SDI Research Centers

LD0510005589 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] The United States will allow Soviet experts to visit two research centers involved in the SDI program this year. The American delegate in the defensive and space weapons group at the Geneva talks on nuclear and space arms, Henry Cooper, has said one of the centers, situated in New Mexico, was developing particle beam weapons, while the other in California worked on laser projects. Radio Moscow's observer recalls that the Soviet Union seeks to prevent an arms race in space and foster the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

'Studio Nine' Debates Political, Social Issues

LD0310171889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 30 Sep 89

["Studio Nine" program, presented by Valentin Zorin, with Vitaliy Vladimirovich Zhurkin, director of the Europe Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Vladimir Viktorovich Shustov, member of the USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Collegium; and Yegor Vladimirovich Yakovlev, USSR People's Deputy and chief editor of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI; video shows participants seated in Ostankino television center studio]

[Text] [Zorin] We have invited to today's discussion of world politics in Studio 9 of Ostankino Television Center Vitaliy Vladimirovich Zhurkin, director of the Europe Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences; Vladimir Viktorovich Shustov, member of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs collegium, head of the Scientific Coordinating Center of the ministry—the ministry does indeed have such a center; and Yegor Vladimirovich Yakovlev, USSR People's Deputy, chief editor of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI. Such a line-up of participants in our conversation today is related to the topic for discussion, which we would like to present for your attention. The second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet which began its work this week drew our attention afresh to the difficulties the perestroyka under way in our country is coming up against. There turned out to be significantly more such difficulties than we—and perhaps our country's leaders—expected as we embarked upon perestroyka. There is, however, one sphere where perestroyka has already yielded wholly weighty and wholly real results: I have in mind the sphere of foreign policy. The Soviet leadership has not only proclaimed the new thinking, but, relying upon that, has achieved the most fundamental changes in all the progress of affairs in the international arena. Just recall even the situation which reigned in the world 4 or 5 years ago, for example. Compare that situation with that of today. We are already starting to become accustomed to this, thank God, but it is clear that we have managed to deflect the at one time pretty real threat of a nuclear catastrophe, or in any event to put off such a threat. This threat of war, which at one time was a wholly real one impending over the world, has indisputably diminished, in general. That is a reality.

Speaking of successes, one can mention even the event which took place this week, at the end of last week and this week, I mean the meeting between Comrade Shevardnadze and President Bush in Washington; his meeting with Secretary of State Baker in Wyoming. This event, I think, which has just taken place before our very eyes, is quite outstanding. Do you not think so, Vladimir Viktorovich?

[Shustov] Yes, I absolutely agree. You have rightly defined this event as a great success. I would even say that it was an astonishing success, because one must take account of the fact that after the election of a new President of the United States of America, almost 8 months went by without anything happening at all, especially in our bilateral relations. The international climate, however, is to a great degree dependent upon the relations between the United States and USSR, even though we do not concentrate our international policy on relations with the United States alone. This pause was connected with the fact that the U.S. Administration said it had to settle in, determine its policy in particular regarding the Soviet Union; and now, as this meeting would appear to demonstrate, such an analysis or sorting out has been completed. The new administration has defined its policy for our bilateral relations. We have not wasted this period; we have been working on many important international problems and on problems of our bilateral relations with the United States. We drew up a very sound and interesting platform for our minister's meeting in Washington and in Wyoming.

An increasing number of comments are being made about this meeting every day, because a wide range of issues was considered at the meeting. Issues relating to limitation of the arms race, and to international security were perhaps at the center of attention. Here the foundations really have been laid for a future breakthrough on the negotiations on nuclear and space weapons in Geneva being conducted between the delegations of the two countries, which have for long been making no substantial progress. Eduard Amvrosiyevich has already said a lot about this in his interviews. Much has been written about it. Indeed, though, it looks as though by the middle of next year the main difficult problems in drawing up this agreement could be resolved. In precisely the same way, a great deal was done in terms of substantial progress on the issue of cutting chemical weapons, nuclear tests. There was an important discussion of regional problems and of Soviet-U.S. relations.

[Zorin] It is interesting that this meeting did not take place in Washington.

[Shustov] Yes, you know, this is a pretty unusual thing. The meeting took place in the U.S. backwoods, in the Rocky mountains, in Jackson Hole, a very beautiful place where there are two national parks—Yellowstone and....

[Zorin, interrupting] Have you been there?

[Shustov] Yes, I have been there; it is a beautiful place. This made a very good impression on the Americans, you know, because it was not the usual formal places like the capitol or a well-known international center like Geneva, but precisely a real Amrican place, and people took note of that. We noted, too, that the actual tone of the negotiations between Baker and Shevardnadze—as the British say, the personal chemistry, so to speak—was good. Our minister spoke of this in his interview.

[Zorin] All well and good, but I think that the dialectic of life and politics is such that there is a certain danger in this. The danger is to focus on something and rest

content with that. Therefore, I think that today it would be correct if we concentrated our attention in the conversation not on the fact that the glass is half-full, but on the side that it is half empty and looked not only at what is done, but what has not been done and could be done in our foreign policy, but has not yet been done, to look for reserves that we have which have not been activated and devote our main attention to this.

In connection with what you said, Vladimir Viktorovich, on a possible break-through, on the success of the talks which have already taken place in Washington and Wyoming. But before we lead our conversation along this path, I would like to cite a letter of one our television viewers and briefly answer it, the more so since I must honestly say that (Comrade Vasilyev) from Volgograd, a war and labor veteran, is not the only television viewer who sent such a letter to Studio 9.

This is what he writes in his letter: The impression is forming that many accords in the international arena achieved in the past 2 or 3 years are linked with substantial concessions which we make, renouncing many principled positions which we formerly defended. Will not, or has not such a policy already, placed our country's security under threat? It is a serious question and in my opinion we should answer it.

[Zhurkin] Yes, it is a serious question, Valentin Sergeyevich. It is put very simply, but the question is very profound because any state making compromises on this or that issue, on this or that problem in its policy, working out its strategy, and strategy is usually a many-staged phenomenon, must constantly feel concern that balances are not disturbed and that in the process of this it does not concede something essential, because one can be as proud as you like of one's successes, but if they are achieved at the price of intolerable compromises, then the worth of these successes will not be great.

I personnally have the feeling that our foreign policy bodies, primarily the Ministry of Foreign Affairs but not exclusively, think about this issue, although they must continue to think constantly about this. Let us turn back a little, even, let us retreat backward from these negotiations, which have just taken place on U.S. territory. Nevertheless, over the duration of a quite lengthy period of time there constantly arises a balance of concessions on both sides. Incidentally, we should admit that we have a sort of trait: If we make a concession we begin to wax lyrical on and advertise these concessions. If the other side has made a concession, well, in this context the Americans or, for instance, NATO then we usually grudgingly talk about this. Although, recently the situation has begun to change.

Well, take, for instance, such a stage, a phenomenon typifying that stage, as the INF Treaty. Concessions were clearly there. The FRG and the United States made a very major, psychologically important concession when they agreed to remover Pershing missiles from the Federal Republic's territory.

They made concessions to us on the question of numbers and verification. Take the talks on conventional arms that are now underway in Vienna. In essence, the so-called proposal made by President Bush in late May and adopted at the 29-30 May NATO session this year—adopted as NATO policy—was after all in many ways essentially a rehash of figures proposed by the Warsaw Pact: for instance, 20,000 tanks, 28,000 armored personnel carriers and infantry combat vehicle, and the figures coincided in artillery, too, and so forth. Therefore I think that this is a most important component part of the work of our diplomacy.

There is another detail that I would like to mention. After all, a great deal of ballast still remains from the past. I will cite a small example. For instance, during the meeting in Wyoming it was noted that the USSR is dismantling the Krasnoyarsk Radar Station. Now comrades, throughout the eighties, at seminars, meetings, and symposiums, our opponents, as well as our friends, took us aside to try to convince us or told us directly that this station was a violation of the 1972 ABM Treaty, not an allusion to a violation but a flagrant, completely direct, and overt violation. As a matter of fact, this does not mean that the United States did not carry out violations. They ,too, are not without sins, but this was straight and direct. A commission made up of a group of U.S. congressmen visited it. Well, we hemmed and hawed, admitted to some things, said that the station could be used in two ways and that the station could be used for both peaceful and military purposes. It is true that one congressman even insulted our glorious military builders when he said that judging from the quality of the construction work, it was hard to tell whether they were building it or demolishing it. [laughter] Do you recall that. It should have been done a long time ago, and now a decision has finally been made. It is wonderful that it was adopted because it clears away one of the obstructions of the past. Others probably remain, and they too will have to be dealt with.

[Yakovlev] They are probably a reflection of a general mass psychology because—you know—I understand that television viewers' letters are a good basis for discussion. I just thought, I was recently reading letters from readers, well, I have been reading them for about 30 years. I do not recall a single letter that asked: Aren't we advancing too much? Aren't we exacerbating the international situation too much? I do not recall any letters of that kind in 30 years. Yet letters of an opposite nature, say since Reykjavik, I recall them perfectly well. This is the mass psychology that has been in place for many years, and it too must be overcome.

[Zorin] Yegor Vladimirovich, both you and I—I have our profession in mind—have probably promoted this.

[Yakovlev] Of course, without a doubt.

[Shustov] You know, Yegor Vladimirovich, I can confirm everything you have said. We also receive quite a lot of letters in the MID [Ministry of Foreign Affairs], and

we receive many of the kind you have described. Now, I had an interesting episode when I was in the United States, and I was invited to speak at an interesting meeting also attended by representatives of other countries. This was not so long ago, not long before the beginning of perestroyka. I spoke about our development and pointed out some shortages and mistakes that we have. Now, I used ordinary newspaper stories and did not invent anything, but they were little known to the Americans. Applause broke out in the hall. I was surprised, and one of the listeners apparently understood my surprise. He jumped up and said: Do you know why we applauded, because every time we hear Soviet representatives speak, we hear only that everything is good, that it is advancing, and so forth; we had never heard anything different.

[Yakovlev] (?Yes, there was) aggressive, mass psychology. I remember that, when things broke in Afghanistan, the reports came out in the evening, in the morning I met my neighbor, a streetcar driver. Naturally I was upset, (?but he just said) you understand that Afghanistan is a staging area [platsdarm]. In other words, this thinking was always, I would say, the strategic thinking of a housewife.

[Shustov] Well you know, Yegor Vladimirovich, everyone will admit that we shift from one side to the other. Currently, the pendulum has swung the other way. We have plunged so much into self-revelation—sometimes it is simply called masochism—in the criticism of what we have, that I have even heard the Americans saying: Why don't you stop this, we know your shortcomings, let's talk constructively.

[Yakovlev] Even Lenin spoke about this in 1917, when he said: We do not need old memories. In order to change, you need to take off your dirty clothes and put on fresh ones.

[Shustov] Currently, many people are asking a similar question about the agreement reached between the U.S. Secretary of State and the USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs in Wyoming in connection with the nuclear and space arms agreement. As you know, they agreed not to link the conclusion of the nuclear and space arms agreement with the ABM Treaty. Our Minister was immediately asked whether this was a concession? He replied that this was not a concession, but a fresh approach. And, in fact, this is so. The sides became deadlocked when discussing the question of reciprocity of the nuclear and space arms agreement and the ABM Treaty. Under discussion were questions of how to interpret the ABM Treaty, the period of the validity [srok nevykhoda] of the treaty, and so forth. These unsolved contradictions slowed down discussion of all other problems.

We have now proposed setting any links and previous contradictions aside, continuing to finalize the conclusion of an agreement on a 50 percent reduction of nuclear and space arms while the ABM Treaty remains in its original state. It is a permanent treaty and, if the other side intends to violate it, we have a safety valve, a condition in the nuclear and space arms agreement permitting withdrawal from it if the higher interests of the state are threatened. Violation of the ABM Treaty could be this kind of threat. I hope this will not occur. At the same time, discussion relating to how research and tests should be understood within the ABM framework and how to adhere to the treaty in future will continue, and in this way, without affecting the essence of the treaty itself, our move permits progress. I hope that the basis of an agreement on a major reduction of strategic arms will be worked out before the meeting between Comrade Gorbachev and President Bush, planned for the end of spring and beginning of summer next year.

[Zorin] Vladimir Viktorovich, can one say in response to Comrade Vasilyev's letter, that the political balance is not disturbed by mutual concessions?

[Shustov] Yes, one could say that without reservation, and the concessions made by us or by the Americans are usually concessions to common sense made to facilitate an agreement.

[Zorin] Thank you. Let us now return to a problem we have already mentioned, that of reserves, unused reserves of our foreign policy. Now, I would like to raise three questions for discussion. I also drew these questions from the Studio 9 mail. The first question: Are not our Army and Fleet too large? Does not the size of the Soviet Armed Forces surpass the announced new Soviet military doctrine of reasonable sufficiency, and are not new and serious reserves for the Soviet State's foreign policy activities to be found here?

The second question: Does the fact that we are continuing to trade in weapons on a fairly extensive scale correspond with the present course of Soviet foreign policy, a fact that by no means promotes stabilization of the international situation?

And, finally: Is there a need, under contemporary conditions, to continue underground nuclear tests, particularly in the Semipalatinsk region, which have, among other things, serious ecological consequences and give rise to protests by many people in the Soviet Union? Particularly under conditions where our country has, for a long time now, had at its disposal a quite sufficient nuclear potential. The nuclear potential is sufficient, but tests continue. I think that quite specific reserves for our foreign policy can be found in the solution of each one of these problems. Now, what could you say about these three questions. Let us try to answer each one of them.

[Zhurkin] Well, let us look at them in order, one by one.

[Zorin] Are not our Army and Navy too big?

[Zhurkin] Well, let us begin with our Army, with our Armed Forces. Of course, Valentin Sergeyevich, we cannot do this without figures, even approximate ones, because otherwise it would simply be a meaningless

opinion. Currently, our Armed Forces number something in the order of 4 million men. They were bigger, but a reduction process is under way. As a result of the 500,000-man reduction, the number will decrease to about 3.75 million. I am not citing precise figures, only approximate ones.

Now comrades, there are 3.2 million men in the regular Chinese Armed Forces today, while the Americans have 2 million. We have more than the world's most populous country. Therefore, are there reserves here? I think there are, there are reserves, reserves for further reductions in the numbers of our Armed Forces. Will this reduction be a process resulting from multilateral talks or some bilateral cooperation, or will this reduction be the result of a unilateral action? Currently, we are distancing ourselves from this question, although I consider a reserve for unilateral action has not been exhausted.

But, I want to dwell on another example. We are withdrawing...the Soviet Union will withdraw 50,000 men from other European countries by the end of 1990, and we are justly proud of this important achievement of our foreign policy, an act which is psychologically important in the political and military sense. Voices can already be heard, our military comrades are already saying, that somewhere something will be under strength, some items will be in short supply. But comrades, after all, even after the withdrawal of more than 100,000 of our troops from Afghanistan, and even after this reduction is completed, we shall still have slightly more troops abroad than the United States has. We have become accustomed, and justly so, to criticizing the Americans for spreading all over the world. But, excuse me, 5 years ago, we had nearly one and a half times more troops and now, after this reduction, we shall have approximately as many. Of course, there are specific characteristics in this. Our troops are located mainly in the territories of our allies close to Soviet territory. The Americans really have spread all over the world, and have set up an enormous number of military bases, dangerous military bases. But, nevertheless, when we talk about these categories we must contrast the one with the other. Proceeding from this, I consider that we have grounds to say that we have far from reached a level of reasonable defensive sufficiency. We must go on and on.

[Zorin] And the Fleet, Vitaliy Vladimirovich?

[Zhurkin] Well, the Fleet. First of all, our Fleet is undoubtedly weaker than the U.S. Fleet. I need not cite figures, this is a universally recognized fact. If we include the Warsaw Pact countries, say, and compare things with NATO, then this inequality increases even more to the advantage of NATO. At the same time, we should take into consideration the fact that the Fleet is an expensive undertaking. It is very costly to maintain a fleet. And here apparently in the process... [changes thought] As a matter of fact, currently a reduction of a certain number of warships is being carried out in the process of arms reductions, both surface and submarine combatants. I fully allow that, during discussion of our military budget in the Supreme Soviet, in the process of discussion of those proposals, and they do envisage a reduction of approximately 1 billion for maintenance of the Armed Forces for the next year, and a general reduction of something in the order of 7 billion. [Sentence as heard] But, possibly something bigger could be considered. At any rate, I think there will be a discussion on this, and possibly some...[changes thought] If certain extremely costly and prestigious projects in the civil sphere are being frozen, then why cannot costly and prestigious projects in the military sphere be frozen? Particularly if they do not change the overall military potential.

[Shustov] If I may, Valentin Sergeyevich?

[Zorin] Yes, please.

[Shustov] On the whole I agree with what Vitaliy Vladimirovich has said, but presently, in accordance with the principles of the new thinking, we should see things the way they are, not the way we would like them to be, and so forth. Now at this level, when speaking about the size of the armed forces, or arms, we must of course relate this to what confronts us on the other side. And I absolutely agree that we have too many troops, too many arms. The same is true for other countries. Therefore, the best thing would be to achieve reductions in the level of military confrontation through talks—five hundred thousand, a ½ million reduction. This is a colossal figure. And it seems to me that the most rational way would be to come to an agreement through talks, and matters are generally going that way.

An excellent basis for achieving an agreement has been laid in Vienna. And I think that in a year or 6 months it will be achieved or its main conditions will be worked out there, and as a result the armies of the two blocs will be reduced by approximately 1 million men.

[Zorin] Now you agree that there is a reserve in this?

[Shustov] There is a reserve and we must act energetically, and I think that all reserves have now been brought into play.

[Yakovlev] Unlike Vitaliy Vladimirovich, who I believe has been specializing on this issue for some 20 years, the questions you have raised sound rhetorical to me. If 10 years ago I was asked if we were not arming excessively, I would have made a helpless gesture, because I knew absolutely nothing about this issue. Now I would not make a helpless gesture, but would shrug my shoulders. Tell me, do you know what quantity, at what cost, to which country, and what brands of weapons do we supply? I do not know this. Do you have a clear picture of the composition and state of our Army? For example, when Deputy Kiseleva said during the confirmation of the minister of defense at the Supreme Soviet session that there were 1,073 generals in the U.S. Army, and we would be reducing 1,400. That is only the number being reduced. Besides, nobody has given a reasonable response. Is this correlation normal or abnormal?

You see, I think that in general the public is not sufficiently informed in order to make a judgment on this. Now, overall public opinion, if we take it as a reserve, and the attitude of public opinion toward foreign policy is a very serious reserve. If we speak about how well public opinion is informed, then we must mention the other side, the fact that it is fairly constrained in its expression. You see, we have long labored under the notion that any article on foreign policy even in nongovernment newspapers represents the official point of view. Not only have we thoroughly convinced ourselves, but we have also convinced the West that any point of view expressed in our press is perceived as the government's view. I remember quite well, for example, the row that erupted when Aleksandr Bovin said for the first time in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI that introducing the SS-20 missiles to Europe was apparently not the most wise decision. Then, before you could blink, it had become the official point of view.

Now this has a particularly serious effect when dealing with the situation in socialist countries, because I understand that we are linked with these countries through state and party agreements, and there are agreements on noninterference in one another's internal affairs. But we deny public opinion an opportunity to express itself on these issues. For instance, we are receiving increasing number of letters from readers who say that they would like to return to 1968, that it was practically the last remaining blank spot in the history of the socialist countries. More and more letters ask why we remain silent and do not express our opinion on something like the fact that distribution of the magazine SPUTNIK and MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI is banned in Cuba, (?the same thing) about Romania, and we are practically (?denying) these questions. Now, why I say that the issue has two sides is because formation of public opinion that supports our foreign policy is a very important point and a great reserve.

[Zorin] I think, Yegor Vladimirovich, that here, too, as in everything else, we should not wait until a directive comes down from above. For example, what was said right now at this table—those facts that were cited by a specialist, the director of an Institute and a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences—is all directed towards informing our public and at overcoming the things you have spoken about.

[Yakovlev] So, if you have a Studio 9 devoted to 1968 in Czechoslovakia, please invite me.

[Zorin] Very well.

[Zhurkin] It is true that there is terribly little data. However, extremely great progress has been achieved. This is unquestionable—figures on our military budget, the breakdown of the defense budget, and the size of the Armed Forces. Nevertheless, comrades, we must face the facts. Compared to any other industrialized power we still publish incomparably less data and there remains very much to be done here, very much lies ahead. Incidentally we somehow skipped over the problem of arms trading which was....

[Shustov, interrupting] We will return to it, but I would like to add that more clarity, more facts and details in the sphere that you have mentioned will obviously appear in connection with the beginning of the work of the Supreme Soviet.

[Yakovlev] Yes, probably.

[Shustov] This will be a very positive fact because we will more intelligently assess programs, their scale....

[Yakovlev, interrupting] (?The Supreme Soviet) raised the level of glasnost to (?a completely new stage).

[Shustov] Yes, but (?it showed) our inexperience too, I suppose (?in many things).

[Zorin] Now, Yegor Vladimirovich has already mentioned the second question that was raised, the question of trading in arms and that we are one of the main suppliers of these arms in the modern world. Let us discuss it in more detail.

[Zhurkin] Well, if I could say a couple of words to start: You know, the picture on the surface here appears completely unambiguous. The sale and supply of arms to other countries must be reduced. I support this and I think we even have a concensus on this matter. However the issue is not so simple. One side, if I can put it that way, is negative. For 40 years the United States was the main arms trader. In the Eighties the Soviet Union has become the number one country. As a matter of fact, all data is kept top secret, although generally it all looks extremely naive, because trade in arms has two ends. Our end is kept secret while the other end is on the surface. [laughs] You know this is the policy of an ostrich; at one end the head is buried while at the other end the backside, pardon the expression, sticks out.

Accordingly, Western statisticians who collect data at the other end, easily collate these figures relating to the arms trade. If we express this in percentages, as we like to do, in the eighties about one third of arms sales were accounted for by our country. In some years this was even greater. A quarter is accounted for by the United States and 10 percent by France. These three countries control 70 to 75 percent of world arms sales. They are followed by Italy, the FRG, Great Britain, the PRC—which is developing this trade—Czechoslovakia, Brazil, and Israel. Now there is another aspect to this. After all, the Soviet Union supplies arms either to its Warsaw Pact allies or in fairly large shipments--citing Western sources once again—to other friendly countries such as India and Syria. I cannot imagine how Syria could survive if it did not have a large quantity of Soviet arms. We are not alone in assisting India in its defense capability. India buys arms from other countries as well, but the Soviet Union plays a major role here. The United

States sells arms to all who pay, and trades throughout the world, although overall it sells less.

To be fair, comrades, I should also say that the Soviet Union has repeatedly proposed talks on reducing sales and supplies of conventional arms, and some 10 years ago such talks began. They were frustrated by the Americans before the introduction of our troops into Afghanistan. As you know, after this introduction the prevailing detente collapsed entirely and there could be no talk of any negotiations.

Now about secrecy in this sphere: Our country has clearly declared that we support the establishment of a UN register that would record all agreements on the sale and supply of conventional arms. As a matter of fact, in his speech at the UN General Assembly session Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, our minister of foreign affairs, reaffirmed this Soviet position. So we support glasnost in this sphere, as well.

Now along with this, of course, in addition to purely military and political factors, there is the moral factor. After all, weapons bring death. The more weapons there are in any given conflict the more people die, and we ourselves constantly see this on our television screens. So somewhere there is a dividing line between assisting friends, for instance, and simply conducting commercial sales. The fact that some kind of moral principles begin to be broken, principles governing morality, means that this dividing line exists and that there is always the threat that it can be crossed. This is why trading in arms is perceived throughout the world by everyone as a somewhat delicate matter.

[Zorin] Vitaliy Vladimirovich, excuse me, you have not convinced me of this difference, that we trade with friends while the Americans trade with anybody prepared to pay in dollars.

[Zhurkin] No, well, with friends plus [words indistinct]....

[Shustov, interrupting] This is inaccurate, because there are such countries as Nicaragua and other progressive countries that have asked the United States. [Other panel members express agreement] There were instances of this, but the Americans would never have sold them arms.

[Zorin] That is correct.

[Zhurkin] Very well, I agree comrades, you have refuted me.

[Zorin] Trade in arms is a matter that must be approached with growing responsibility and care and obviously there is a reserve for our policy in this. Now the third question that is raised by our television viewers, I would like to remind you, is the need for underground nuclear tests which we are continuing to carry out, particularly in the Semipalatinsk region.

[Shustov] Generally this question about tests is a very serious one because tests have always been a means for modernizing nuclear weapons. We can be proud here of the fact that our country was the first state that supported the public call for an end to tests. I would like to tell you—and this is little known—that the first agreement which was known as the 1963 Moscow Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, besides its significance in military disarmament and in slowing down the arms race, was the first very serious ecological agreement. After Chernobyl we forgot how nature was polluted as a result of nuclear tests.

There was an interesting example that I heard about when I began working on this problem. A tree cut down in the center of Russia after the test detonation of an American nuclear weapon in the state of New Mexico revealed radioactive substances in growth rings dating after 1945. Yet we began explosions only in 1949. The Moscow Treaty put an end to this. Now underground nuclear tests—and I do not want to underestimate their destructive significance in any way—are less dangerous of course in the ecological sense, although they also are fraught with danger. Our position on this question is very clear and honest. It was confirmed by our 18-month unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests, which in the military sense was somewhat detrimental to us.

In addition—I think that our minister said this in the General Assembly address—we are presently, even tomorrow, ready to make an agreement with the United States on a moratorium. We are prepared to agree to any verification to stop the tests. The threshold [porogovoye] agreement, which will be signed next spring at the USSR-U.S. summit meeting, will be an important step to totally stopping underground nuclear tests.

[Zorin] Nevertheless, if we do not speak about lowering thresholds, can we at least fantasize and contemplate the return to the unilateral moratorium?

[Shustov] You see, the question of whether to return to the unilateral moratorium should be decided by specialists. If the other side continuously makes their improvements and we stop doing this, questions will arise and we will be receiving letters—I do not merely mean the MID [Ministry of Foreign Affairs], but the Government and the Supreme Soviet as well—asking us what we are doing to ensure our defense capabilities. I am not saying this to justify the tests. Unilateral steps may be feasible in the future as well. This is a matter for specialists, but I would welcome this if it is possible. However—this is the potential you have been speaking about—a campaign should be carried out energetically to lower the threshold, and many states will support us in this.

[Zorin] Thank you. Now, I would like to touch upon another problem greatly related to the potentials of foreign policy. When one speaks about the potentials of foreign policy, one cannot abstract oneself from the closest connection that has always existed and still exists between foreign policy and domestic policy. I think that

certain negative phenomena and processes taking place in our domestic life cannot but reflect on our foreign policy. It is generally known that an idea is widely spread in certain Western circles: Do not rush to enter far-reaching agreements with the Soviet Union; rather, watch their domestic development, the way they manage their economic problems, and the degree of stability of their political situation. Wait and stall. You see how the domestic situation reflects on foreign affairs. I think that the relation between internal processes and the problem of potential is worthy of a special discussion. I would like you, Yegor Vladimirovich, to tell us your view.

[Yakovlev] Well, naturally this is a very great problem. I thing that the main point lies in a different sphere. I think that, while virtually every word spoken by the Soviet Union in the past was subject to doubt, we currently have achieved a kind of a thin layer of confidence in us. This layer is thin and dangerous like treacherous ice, and, after a single wrong step, we may find ourselves falling through it. How can we increase confidence? Only through bringing foreign and domestic policies together, so that foreign policy confirms domestic policy; in other words, the new thinking in foreign policy and the new thinking in domestic policy. While the new thinking in foreign policy is implemented more or less consistently, because it corresponds to the thinking of the country's leadership, the new policy in domestic policy is the weapon of mass psychology. I experienced the degree of difficulty in achieving this when the Supreme Soviet was discussing the Law on Cooperatives and when holy wrath concerning cooperatives was seen in the eyes of many deputies. Then I understood the difficulties caused by the fact the we have lived 60 or 70 years in the society of levelling [uravnilovka] and the difficulties in changing from this society to some other kind.

Of course, I would say that everyone in the West who is sympathetic to us—and there are great many of them—wish to have confirmation of this consistency. Unfortunately, this does not always happen. I remember very well when Mikhail Sergeyevich, addressing us at a conference, said that any form of rural activity which currently promotes feeding the people is a socialist one, and those who disagree, let them chew old newspaper files. Some in fact did, and as early as the next day we heard from some leaders that kolkhozes (collective farm) and sovkhozes (state farm) were the only form of property dear to them, and that everything else comes from the devil.

So you see this kind of inconsistency (?has an adverse affect), of course. I think that there is an adverse effect because we generally cannot come to any agreement today and are arguing over obvious things. You understand that over many years an impression was formed that socialism is a strong arm that can seize anyone it wants by the scruff of the neck. It meant a violation of human rights, a low standard of living, and so on and so forth. It must be said that the Stalinist school generally went [words indistinct] conditions. I even brought along this well-known photograph in which Stalin is shown thumbing his nose. [Video shows Yakovlev holding up the photo of Stalin which he takes from his papers] It seems to me that he (?can still) thumb his nose at many people here today who maintain that anything that does not correspond with the socialism that they have experienced in their own hides is a betrayal of socialism.

Talk is starting again that a concealed enemy is emerging [words indistinct] well-known corner. Of course (?I do not know which) corner, but (?supposedly this corner exists). There is talk again that there are various forces within the Soviet Union that dream of switching it onto the rails of capitalist development.

Naturally we should not be surprised, then, that in the West it is being said that there is nothing new in perestroyka, that it is simply capitalist development. Of course, this inconsistency has a very adverse affect on confidence in us. Yet I consider that confidence in us is one of the decisive potentials of foreign policy.

[Shustov] You know, I would add another point. Presently we see a most favorable attitude towards us during our contacts when making official trips abroad. This attitude is very favorable in most circles, in society, and among the propertied class. Of course, there are inveterate enemies—I am not talking about them—but overall the atmosphere is most favorable. Sometimes we spoil this atmosphere. I am not talking now about those things that you have mentioned, Yegor Vladimirovich, but we spoil it through our bureaucratism, our backwardness, and our uncommitted ways. This is an awful trait. Some American and West European businessmen complain: It is so hard to agree over simple things with you. It is hard to agree even on those things that are of benefit to us, you understand.

How much time must be wasted on this? I recall a book written about Russia, published 110 years ago. It is very interesting and is simply entitled "Russia." On one of its first pages there is a sentence that reads: Russia is a country where time is not money. Unfortunately, this is true today. In other words, I am saying that what is essential is enterprise, self-discipline, and commitment. This is also an internal factor that influences our foreign policy. It would be easier to conclude business deals and easier to help perestroyka through foreign policy.

[Zorin] I think that today when we talk about the potentials of foreign policy and its obstacles we must directly say that certain circumstances of our domestic life—nationalist slogans and pronouncements, right and left extremism—are all factors that constrain the potentials of our foreign policy. Now some time ago—I recall it and our listeners remember it, of course—the general opinion was: Let anything happen so long as there is no war. This was sung in a folk song. Now one gets the impression that these extremists and nationalists are either lulled by this detente or they have forgotten that the threat of war is really not the same. However, they are rocking the boat and disturbing stability not only

within the country, but somewhere they are generally slowing down the process of detente. This is a factor that must be kept in mind. The political and social responsibility of people who think today that they are dealing with strictly domestic issues must include an understanding of the fact that our country does not exist in a vacuum, and that far from all problems of security have been solved.

[Yakovlev] Generally speaking, would not the rise of an interethnic conflict to a civil war level bring an end to detente?

[Zorin] Undoubtedly it may.

[Shustov] Yes, it has very negative consequences for our policy.

[Yakovlev] This will be the end to both restructuring and detente.

[Zhurkin] I think, and we have discussed this, our concept of security used to be very traditional and, by the way, a correct one.

[Zorin] Everything was reduced to the military correlation.

[Zhurkin] Yes. The main thing was the military correlation; the main thing was the threat of an attack on our country. Presently, when this threat of a sudden attack is either sharply reduced, or rather simply absent, other factors of security have been drastically activated—that we lag behind the whole world in technical respect, that we have urgent internal problems and difficulties, which have been discussed here—these things are also the components of security in our state and the system, if you wish to put it this way.

[Shustov] Anatoliy Vladimirovich has touched upon a very interesting question in connection with technical and technological development. You know, many may not know this, but I will reveal this secret. It is surprising that our foreign policy has never been particularly engaged in liaison with science. Contrary to the practice of other states' ministries of foreign affairs, our Ministry of Foreign Affairs has no money for scientific research. This, of course, has been to the great detriment of foreign policy—not merely a potential because it is very difficult to develop a correct foreign policy in the present mutually interrelated and very complex world. Presently, we are taking energetic measures. In May 1986 Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev spoke at the ministry about the need to establish a solid scientific foundation for foreign policy. We are developing links with scientific institutes not only in Moscow, but all over the country and this brings its benefits, but this is merely the beginning. We will ask the Supreme Soviet to include some minor allocations for scientific research in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs budget. Why do we spend a lot of money on arms and on research in that field? Does not foreign policy require an extensive scientific approach?

[Zorin] As I see it, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is putting pressure on the deputy.

[Shustov] No, it is merely a request, nothing more. [laughter]

[Yakovlev] I wanted to say something else, that if we talk about the press, then the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the department that is the hardest to offend. We have several times published articles that were not very pleasant for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and this is the department that is the hardest to offend.

[Zorin] Yegor Vladimirovich, you have been more lucky than I, because I must admit that some of my colleagues' appearances on television, and in particular mine, have caused, moderately speaking, displeasure on the part of comrades in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. An official spokesman for the ministry, even at public briefings, assessed certain views as wrong instead of simply saying that they disagreed with the view and that it was a television political observer's personal view. Of course, it is impossible to talk in one discussion about all the potentials in foreign policy that have not been activated, of what can and needs to be activated, and we will, probably, return to this question many times. Now, in conclusion, I would like us to exchange views on the category of morality in foreign policy. Policy and morality is now the topic. Does not it happen that political pragmatism does not always correspond to laws of morality and morals? There is a present-minute benefit and we chase it, but certain moral principles—which are not very obvious, but rather a remote influence—escape attention. Are not some unactivated potentials for our foreign policy hidden in this?

[Zhurkin] Undoubtedly there are, Valentin Sergeyevich, although it seems to me that this is a very difficult question. Possibly when mankind still lived in caves and some rudimentary morals may have begun appearing, even then clashes occured between the emerging ideas of morals, morality, and interests. Besides the contradictions can be most unusual. But I simply wanted to conjecture aloud.

It is a peculiarity of any state to strive to maintain the best relations with its neighbors, all of its neighbors. We have different neighbors. If, say, various events occuring in a neighboring state are not palatable to us from the point of view of morals and morality, there are of course diplomatic ways to solve these problems. Attempts to solve these problems may be tacit with no publicity. At the same time the problem also arises of how not only the state, but also society reacts. The emotional reaction of society to various manifestations in the world may not coincide with some stricter and more pragmatic attitudes of the state based on a pragmatic consideration of state interests.

[Zorin] Vitaliy Vladimirovich, I do not want to draw any analogies, but I recall that several decades ago in response to a rebuke over support for the dictatorial Stroessner regime, one of the American presidents said:

"Yes, he is a son of a bitch, but he is our son of a bitch." So there you have an example of a violation of the principles of morality in foreign policy....

[Zhurkin interrupts] For the sake of some specific interest.

[Zorin] ...For the sake of some specific interest.

[Yakovlev] [?Words indistinct] question is very important, generally. The concept of morality itself is such a broad category that it sounds quite different. When I was listening to Vitaliy Vladimirovich just now, I thought of the well-known episode that you may recall of the (?shipment) of black bread crusts. When the German workers went on strike in the 1920s we loaded freight cars with black bread crusts for them. Was this moral? Very! But from the point of view of a family dying of hunger in the Volga region in which there were incidents of cannabalism, was this moral or not? I find it difficult to say.

Therefore the category of morality is very difficult. I honestly do not believe that foreign policy can always measure up to categories of morality. I think this is a horizon we are moving towards and moving most actively. And the fact that this criterion has been raised in foreign policy at all is wonderful.

But I would like to continue this idea at a different level. You understand that the matter does not only lie in whether an agreement, say one concluded today with Iran, is moral or not. You understand that for foreign policy and morality to coincide, the other components must be moral. Take for example the fact that for a long period of time we considered that we had the right to send one stream of information to Soviet people while we reported something quite different to the West. Today (?this stream is also not completely equal). This is hard to achieve because it was this way for many years, but it is also a point of morality, so to speak—a single channel for the information stream.

[Shustov] One must say that in fact the moral initiative in our foreign policy is beginning to strengthen vigorously, although there are very many reserves for this. The question of human rights is an example of this kind of positive development. I will not go into details, I think it is clear. But on the other hand I would like to stress one idea. The approach of morality must be, if not completely, then at least approximately equal in both domestic and foreign affairs. Take ecology. If you poison your population because of the disgraceful things going on at a plant or mine that extend beyond them, this is amoral both in relation to the population at large and in relation to [words indistinct]. From the point of view of morality in foreign policy we must increasingly accept international standards for protecting the environment, insofar as pollution knows no boundaries. But in order to do this—and presently there are 140 or more agreements of this kind—we must put things at home in order. And this will mean a coincidence of two moralities that are of course essential.

[Zorin] Well, our time on the air has run out. It remains for me to thank you, my colleagues, for taking part in this discussion and to thank our television viewers. And so until we meet again here in our Studio 9. Thank you.

United States & Canada

Yazov Continues Official Visit to United States

Holds News Conference 3 Oct

PM0510103589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Oct 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS report under the general heading: "Continuation of Visit"]

[Text] Washington, 4 Oct—Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, who is paying an official visit to the United States, addressed a news conference 3 October. In response to journalists' questions, he expressed hope for progress in the Soviet-U.S. arms control talks. Asked whether new USSR-U.S. contacts are scheduled in the military sphere, the Soviet military chief said: "On Monday we had talks with Defense Secretary Cheney lasting a whole day. We outlined many points on which we may implement contacts, and we intend to elaborate a special plan for contacts for 1990. We plan to elaborate a program that will help improve mutual relations between our two countries."

The USSR defense minister wished the American people well-being and prosperity.

On the same day Army General D.T. Yazov addressed teachers and students at the U.S. National Defense University and met with L. Aspin, chairman of the House of Representatives Armed Services Committee.

The favorable effect of the restructuring of Soviet society on the further improvement of the political climate in Europe and throughout the world was emphasized during the conversation, which took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere. It was noted that the first visit to the United States by a USSR defense minister is a positive factor in contemporary international relations.

In the afternoon the Soviet guest arrived in New York, where he delivered a speech at the Council on Foreign Relations.

Visits San Diego, Naval Installations

LD0510095289 Moscow TASS in English 0940 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] San Diego (California State) October 5 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Vladimir Matyash:

A Soviet military delegation led by Soviet Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov, on an official visit to the United States, arrived at the North Island Naval Air Station on Wednesday.

The Soviet minister was warmly welcomed by Admiral David Jeremiah, commander-in-chief of the U.S. Pacific Fleet, and Vice Admiral Robert Tuhuni, commander of the Pacific Surface Force. They pointed to the importance of expanding military contacts to improve understanding and confidence between the United States and the USSR.

Yazov inspected military aircraft and visited the assault ship Belleau Wood. The Soviet minister watched practice firing at the Red Beach Marine Base in Camp Pendleton.

Later in the day the Soviet delegation inspected the U.S. Naval Base Coronado.

Speaking at a news conference, Yazov pointed out that the expansion of military relations, which became possible thanks to the summits between the Soviet and American leaders, contributed to creating a new climate of confidence and friendship in Soviet-American relations.

He said that his talks with U.S. military and political leaders this week, were useful and fruitful. It is self-evident that the changes in the Soviet Union, which are being implemented under the leadership of President Mikhail Gorbachev, also influence favourably the development of military contacts between the two countries, Yazov said.

"Along with the leadership of the U.S. Armed Forces, we intend to consolidate bilateral military contacts," he pointed out.

"During the visit, we have become convinced that the American people entertain friendly feelings for the Soviet people. In turn, the Soviet people cherish similar feelings for the American people," the minister noted.

General of the Air Force Robert Harris, vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, told TASS that he hoped the U.S. visit by the Soviet military delegation led by Defence Minister Yazov would help expand contacts and consolidate confidence between the military of the two countries.

The general admired the feelings of friendship and a desire to cooperate shown by Army General Yazov. Harris said that the U.S. side is also ready to develop and expand military contacts. The first U.S. visit by a Soviet defence minister helped make headway in this direction, he noted.

The Soviet delegation plans to visit some air force facilities in Arizona state today.

Pentagon Cited on Yazov-Cheney Talks

PM0410132989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Oct 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS report under the general heading "Visit Continues"]

[Text] Washington, 3 Oct—An official Pentagon spokesman has made a positive assessment of the 2

October talks between Army General D.T. Yazov and R. Cheney, General C. Powell, and other U.S. military leaders.

The talks between the Soviet defense minister and the U.S. secretary of defense were "businesslike, intensive, and exceptionally frank," the Pentagon spokesman said. "The overall atmosphere of the talks was positive," he noted. "On the whole it was a useful day's discussions between the two countries' defense ministers."

According to the Pentagon spokesman, issues relating to the Soviet-U.S. arms control talks, regional conflicts—including the problem of a settlement over Afghanistan—and the comparison of the thrust of Soviet and U.S. military doctrines were discussed during the talks. He particularly emphasized that R. Cheney showed heightened interest in the unilateral armed forces and arms cuts in East Europe announced by the Soviet Union last December, and in the measures being taken by the Soviet Government to cut the country's defense budget.

The official spokesman reported that, apart from R. Cheney and C. Powell, ranking staffers from the State Department, National Security Council, and Joint Chiefs took part in the talks with the USSR defense minister.

Observer on 'More Dynamic' Contacts

LD0310124489 Moscow World Service in English 0910 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] The Soviet defense minister, Dmitriy Yazov, continues his official visit to the United States. A comment from our political observer, Viktor Glazunov, and this is what he writes.

The Soviet-American contacts in the military area are getting more dynamic. The word first is often used about these contacts. This is the first time even a Soviet defense minister is staying on American soil. Several months ago it was the first visit to this country by the chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. Shortly before that it was the first visit to the Soviet Union by an American secretary of defense.

Both sides are displaying growing openness. The program of our defense minister covers not only meetings and talks with senior political and military officials of the United States but also visits to military units and naval and air force bases. In turn, during their stay in the Soviet Union the American military leaders were able to see the latest submarine and a most modern combat plane, as well as attend rocket launchings and a military exercise. Admiral William Crowe, who visited this country as the chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, spoke of unprecedented openness. This openness in the military area seems to be the true indicator of changes for the better in Soviet-American relations, of a turn from confrontation to dialogue and cooperation.

At present the military are turning into politicians because the notion of security is different today from what it was before. In the past a great military might meant greater security. In our nuclear missile age the path to greater security lies through cuts in armaments to a level of reasonable sufficiency. That is indicated by the past experience, starting with the treaty to limit systems of antimissile defense, the ABM Treaty which is 17 yers old, and ending with the treaty to scrap two classes of nuclear missiles, the INF Treaty.

The visit by the Soviet defense minister to the United States acquires special significance in the light of the Soviet-American accords reached in Wyoming. Hopes are pinned on these accords for a successful completion of the Soviet-American talks to reduce by half the strategic armaments, to destroy chemical weapons and to make progress in limiting conventional armed forces.

U.S. Embassy Briefing on Emigration Reported

PM0510102189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 5

[S. Dardykin article: "Easing, or Restriction? Notes From Briefing at U.S. Embassy"]

[Text] The U.S Embassy in Moscow held a briefing for journalists. The subject as it appeared in the invitations sent to editorial offices was "The New Procedures for Soviet Citizens Emigrating to the United States." This means that the forecasts which have filtered through from official spheres in Washington to the U.S. press, have come true—the new rules will come into force as of 1 October, that is as of the beginning of the new fiscal year in the United States.

It is no accident that "the new procedures" are tied to the beginning not of the calendar year, but of the fiscal year. As restrictions on leaving the country are being lifted in our country, the question of emigration from the Soviet Union is losing its convenient propagandist overtone for the U.S. authorities and, according to the testimony of that same U.S. press, is taking on a financial urgency. Up to this point virtually every person who decided to emigrate from the USSR could automatically count on getting "refugee" status, which also means generous financial assistance. Now the United States has started talking about restrictions, or to be more precise, "quotas."

Admittedly it was not the restrictions but the easing of the procedures for getting U.S. visas which was discussed at the briefing. It was precisely with the point that the procedures are being facilitated and simplified that the spokesman for the U.S. Embassy in Moscow began his statement. (This is how, without mentioning his name or profession, journalists were allowed to refer to the young man, continually smiling and speaking fluent Russian, who gave the introductory speech and then answered questions. It was an unnecessary precaution: No one introduced the interlocutor by name or position to the journalists. But since this was the main condition set by the briefing's organizers—and it was repeated twice, in

written form in the invitation and orally when everyone sat down—let him be the spokesman for the U.S. Embassy in Moscow).

And so, what is the simplified procedure? As of 1 October applications for entry to the United States must be made on special forms and posted in a special mail box to be set up in front of the embassy. From there they will be sent on to Washington without any sorting, as I understood it, and there it will be determined who will be invited for an interview at the embassy and who will not. The appropriate notification may arrive in the mail, and then again it may not. The embassy warns that by no means all those who apply will get an invitation. And not all those invited can in their turn count on "refugee" status. (The rest will get the right to "conditional entry," that is they will have the right to go overseas at their own risk, without any guarantees for the future and, of course, without any assistance). The issuing of visas by the U.S. Embassies in Vienna and Rome to people leaving the USSR is being stopped. This obviously affects those who have left the country with an Israeli visa and changed their route half-way. This channel will now be closed off.

If not everyone will get a visa, then who will? Those who have close relatives—parents, children, brothers and sisters, a husband or wife—will have preference. Let me note that the Americans have equipped themselves with the same principle for which they so frequently reproached us at one time. Previously this was our condition for leaving. Now it is their condition for entry.

In the new rules there is one more category of those having preference—"persons of particular interest to the U.S. Government." Since there was no explanation in the information handed out to us, some of the journalists asked whether this streamlined formulation simply conceals a "brain drain." In other words, a desire to select from the number of applications those who have qualifications or specialist knowledge, and as a result to leave out the rest who had been attracted by the simplified procedure.

No, no, the U.S. Embassy spokesman protested sincerely, not at all. This refers, he said, to members of religious groups and old "refuseniks" because the U.S. Government has always had a particular respect for freedom of religion and freedom to leave the country.

I see no reason to doubt the sincerity of the U.S. Embassy spokesman, but I think that it is still a question not of freedom of religion, but of the U.S. authorities wanting to retain a free hand. Hence the "quotas" and "special interest." You, they say, must release all those who want to leave, and we will decide which of them suits us.

Doesn't the embassy believe, the participants in the briefing asked, that with the changes taking place in the Soviet Union it is by no means easy to prove "victimization" or "persecution?" And that people are being deliberately encouraged to lie in the hope of getting "refugee" status? And broadly speaking, is the U.S. side sure that an interview at the embassy is sufficient grounds on which to decide who "is being victimized," and who is not, and thus who deserves a visa and whom it is simpler to refuse? Is it sure that this system will work? Potential swindlers and criminals, who have enriched the police vocabulary in the United States with a new concept—the "Russian mafia," are still among the "persecuted."

In effect the U.S. Embassy spokesman's answer was that generally the interviews should be considered a reliable filter. What about adding more immigrants to the criminal world? In order to avoid such a situation in the future, assistance from the Soviet side would not be a bad thing. I could even detect in the tone and words of the U.S. Embassy spokesman a certain note of complaint that such cooperation still does not exist.

In my view, this is too much to expect.

Hopeful Emigres Gather at U.S. Embassy in Moscow

LD0410033889 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Well, crowds of Soviet citizens wishing to emigrate to the United States gathered at the American Embassy in Moscow when new immigration rules introduced by the United States went into force. The new rules introduced a quota for immigrants allowed to enter the United States on an annual basis. In order to prevent Jews going with Israeli visas to Vienna or Rome and then changing their route to the United States, American officials require would be immigrants to apply for visas in Moscow and to seek direct passage to the United States.

U.S. Immigration Rules Usher in Black Marketeers

LD0410211489 Moscow World Service in English 0810 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] New immigration rules have been introduced by the United States from 1st October this year for Soviet citizens applying for residence in the United States. It was said at a briefing at the American Embassy here in Moscow that the rules were designed to ease the procedure of obtaining entry visas. Our reporter (Leonid Zhukov) visited the U.S. Embassy and has found the following story:

The first thing I clearly realized on arriving at the American Embassy was that no interviews or comments could be obtained from the people standing in line in front of the building to be admitted for an interview with United States immigration officers. A second line consisted of people wanting to receive the new immigration forms. When I arrived there were over 35,000 people on this waiting list. Under the new rules Soviet citizens now apply for entry visas here in Moscow, fill out immigration forms and put them into a box in front of the embassy. The applicants then wait for an invitation.

From people in the line I learned that one could obtain the forms without waiting in a long line. Black market speculators were doing their business, selling the immigration forms for R150, that's around $200 a piece. A young man who identified himself as Sergey and who was not a Muscovite said that the previous morning the forms could be bought at a much lower price, but by evening they were as high as R100. I was lucky, said Sergey, to buy two for R60. It's nerve-racking, he added. It's now so much easier to obtain an exit visa from the Soviet authorities than an entry visa from the Americans.

Two hours later the no forms notice on the embassy doors was replaced by a notice saying forms would be available tomorrow. I overheard people nominating candidates for night duty outside the embassy. United States officials have long been criticizing Soviet official bodies for inadequate and tiresome procedures to obtain exit visas. But now the boot is on the other foot. No sooner did the Soviet Union liberalize its emigration policies than the American side started talking about quotas on Soviet emigres. From now on the American immigration authorities will give preference to people with relatives in the United States, but that's exactly the principle for which the Soviet authorities were bitterly criticized.

China

Lukyanov, Delegation Describe Visit to China

LD0410180189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2040 GMT 2 Oct 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Aleksandr Zholkver]

[Text] [Zholkver] The PRC has just marked its 40th anniversary. At present, the Chinese Communist Party [CPC] and Chinese working people are engaged in tackling the tasks of socialist modernization, and, proceeding from the conditions of their country, are implementing profound transformations aimed at strengthening the foundations of and unfurling the potential of socialist society.

The Chinese leader, Deng Xiaoping, noted during these festive days that the spread of bourgeois liberalization in the PRC led to the CPC yielding some ideological positions. Now, he stressed, it is necessary at all costs to resolutely defend cardinal principles, to adhere to the socialist path of development, to strengthen the leading role of the Communist Party and, consequently, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong. [video shows Chinese street scenes with flower-bedecked open spaces, two soldiers standing as pedestrians walk past, Deng and other leaders at a festive event, applauding]

On the eve of the PRC's anniversary, a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation led by Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov arrived in China. Our correspondent, Vladimir Kulikov, asked the members of the delegation to share their impressions about the trip to the PRC. [video opens with graphic showing map of the world and captioned "Our Interview"; Lukyanov and others seated at low tables speaking with Kulikov; participants identified by screen caption]

[Begin recording] [Lukyanov] We spent a week in China. We spoke at the highest level with the leadership of the PRC. There were conversations at provincial level with the leaders of Chinese provinces and cities, and there were very many conversations with the ordinary people of China, in labor collectives, at a metallurgical and shipbuilding and machine-building works, in communes with the peasants, with veterans, and with young people at the Great Wall of China. If one speaks about the most important thing, the greatest impression for me, for example, was our meetings with these ordinary people.

It turned out that the majority of them, of the older generation, preserved the memory of those traditions which were formed in 1950, in the fifties, the traditions of friendship, the traditions of mutual understanding, and many of them spoke forthrightly that one has to take the very best from that period and carry it now at the new stage in the development of relations with the PRC which is taking shape after Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit here, to China, and his talks with the leadership of People's China.

This visit, as it were, gave a second wind to our relations and the trip by the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation, and of USSR People's Deputies to China, had as its main aim to lend substance to those decisions and those outlines which were adopted at summit level. Our talks with a delegation of the All-China Assembly of People's Representatives were devoted to this. They were lengthy, detailed, and friendly talks. We got a lot out of them. And it must be said that fairly large opportunities are opening up—exchanges of experience in the work of deputies, exchanges of experience in resolving questions of restructuring the management of the economy, and exchanges of experience in the resolution of a whole range of social questions.

[O. Akayev] What made the greatest impression on me was the enthusiasm with which the Chinese comrades are switching their national economy and economic system on to the track of scientific-technological progress. They are successfully mastering many modern spheres of science and technology, especially in electronics. But at present, these are small islands in the enormous sea of the Chinese national economy and the Chinese economic system. We were convinced of this during visits to their stores; they have a lot of high quality consumer goods, but so far as science-intensive production is concerned, there is little of this in China at present. And I think that scientific-technological cooperation with advanced, developed countries of the world, in particular with our country—and which is now growing deeper and spreading—can help to resolve this task.

As a member of the Committee on Issues of the Economic Reform, I discovered that today, economists both in China and in our country are tackling many similar tasks. In particular, at the reception, Tian Jiyun, vice premier of the State Council, said that the most acute problem today is the reform of the prices system and corresponding wage regulation. As he graphically put it, prices today are an unbridled horse, and the PRC Government is elaborating measures with the help of which they might curb this problem.

Well, there are similar tasks in our country, so I think that our trip, and trips to our country by Chinese representatives of the All-China Council of People's Representatives serves our mutual enrichment and the search and discovery of ways to resolve these problems which are important for the development of the economic systems of our countries.

[V.P. Savinykh] It is probably no coincidence that the PRC leadership is interested in space, because the space programs which are underway in China and throughout the world are at the forefront of science. Naturally, there is great interest today in studying in the Soviet Union. The first students have already enrolled in many higher educational establishments of the Soviet Union, and they all want to acquire knowledge in the Soviet Union.

[I.M. Luchenko] Our program was very packed. There were many problems, and I am glad that attention was also devoted to the matter of culture within the framework of this most interesting, and businesslike trip. But I have to say that the most important thing now is that these cultural exchanges between the two capitals—Beijing and Moscow—should be more concrete, but, what is very important—between the republics and oblasts. In Shanghai there is a poet and translator who has translated and produced more than 600 Soviet songs. I think that that is a kind of feat. And he has been doing this for decades. There was "Moscow Nights," well-known songs by composers from Moscow and other Union republics. I think that is what you call friendship.

PRC Development Since Revolution Pondered

PM0510084589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own correspondent Yu. Savenkov: "1 October Is the 40th Anniversary of the Formation of the People's Republic of China: Priorities Remain Unchanged"]

[Text] Beijing—It is early fall in Beijing. The trees are still decked in green foliage, and only the unexpectedly early yellow hue of the ginkgo—the only surviving tree of its species—breaks the uniform dark-green sheen. Red strips covered in gold ideographs posted up around the city remind people of the upcoming holiday—the 40th anniversary of the PRC's formation. What do 40 years mean in the life of a country the deep roots of whose civilization stretch back for millennia.

When considering the ages of man Confucius, the great thinker (this year, incidentally, is the 2,540th anniversary of his birth) defined 40 as the time when man is free of error and sees everything in a clear light.

But no matter how complex and unique the fate of a single man may be, the life of a state, particularly at dramatic turns in its history, is without doubt immeasurably more complex. The PRC's history during these 40 years has packed in so much... The romanticism and sacrifice of those who were there at the new state's outset and the lost generation of the tragic years of the "cultural revolution." The revival of hopes during the time of reforms and openness to the world. Rapid economic development quickly restored the normal pace which had been disrupted during the time of wars lasting many years and predatory imperialist control. Initially they wanted to combine planned leadership of the development of nationalized sectors, above all industry, with long-term retention of peasant land ownership. But another trend triumphed, and collectivization, which was nearly always accompanied by complete socialization of the land and other resources, was completed in short order. This established a precedent. There was the temptation to effect an equally swift "leap forward to communism." However, as is well known, the experiment did not work—the people's communes failed. The same fate attended the "great leap forward," whose initiators, relying on manual labor, had resolved to outstrip the world's leading countries. A long period of hare-brained social schemes and political arbitrariness set in. This arbitrariness was particularly felt during the years of the "cultural revolution," which was an attempt to eradicate the masses' ability to think. If you add to this the reckless campaign launched by the great helmsman against material incentives as a manifestation of capitalism, then the line by the poet Ai Qina which reads "it is necessary to turn everything upside down" becomes clear.

In December 1978 a new page opened in China's history. Chinese reform began against a background of political crisis and economic depression after the failure of the experiments carried out under the Maoist slogans of revolutionary mobilization of the masses. It marked a shift from ideological dogmatism toward a policy where practice became the criterion of truth, a shift from a command-type economy toward market socialism and from self-isolation toward interdependence in the international arena. It marked the beginning of the long, hard road to modernization.

China now proceeds from the premise that society is at an initial stage of socialism based on outmoded production forces and an undeveloped commodity economy. Here they consider that other forms of economic management can exist alongside socialist social ownership. The country's developmental stages are marked out. The first stage, which covers the eighties, is to double GNP and reach a level where people are "warm and adequately fed." This task has been basically solved, the

country's leadership considers, although 70 million peasants in rural areas were below the official poverty line of 200 yuans annual per capita income at the beginning of this year. The second stage, encompassing the nineties, will see another doubling of GNP and the achievement of "minor prosperity." And finally the third and the most difficult stage, in the view of Chinese reform strategists, the raising of per capita GNP to the level of average developed countries. The target date is the middle of the next century, although, according to some scientists' assessments, it is scarcely possible to build a modernized socialist state before the end of the next century.

Preholiday Beijing, where everything is still under martial law, is unusual. The press has reported that military servicemen of units maintaining martial law, who live in temporary camps in the west of the city, not far from the student campuses, are preparing to move to winter quarters. The local authorities have allocated workers and construction materials to assemble prefabricated dwellings. Some people are conjecturing that martial law will last until the Asian Games next September, but officials are giving no precise time.

Sentries continue to guard the approaches to Tiananmen Square, on which the traditional floral dipslays have already appeared. But only the organizing groups will be able to enjoy them this time.

Rehearsals for the huge holiday dance display on the square have begun. Traditional dances are on the program, but rock and roll and break dancing are forbidden. Mao Zedong's portrait, which hangs constantly over the gates to Tiananmen Square, has been joined by a portrait of Sun Yat-sen, leader of the Xinhai Revolution, which overthrew imperial rule. This is a holiday tradition. But there is a new feature. On the spot where during the turbulent days of student unrest there stood the "goddess of democracy"—the figure of a woman holding a torch (which generated a lot of dispute: Some people thought she represented an appeal for peace and democracy, others regarded her as an insult to a sacred place)—there has now appeared a sculpture of a worker, soldier, peasant, and intellectual.

Security measures have been considerably beefed up. The local authorities are explaining to citizens throughout China that written authorization from the authorities is needed to acquire a pass for the holiday and preholiday period in Beijing. Those who bought their ticket in advance but do not have such written authorization can get their money back. Permission is only allowed if the applicant shows substantial evidence of business neccesity for a trip for the period 15 September through 15 October. All conferences and meetings in the capital, except those held by the CPC Central Committee and the PRC State Assembly, have been canceled. At least 1 million people—tourists, businessmen, and work-seekers—have annually found themselves in Beijing in recent years. Last year the number of nonresidents present on the national holiday rose to 1.5 million. But clearly this time the strict countrywide checking of identity cards will substantially reduce the number of transient arrivals.

And yet another feature is that there will be no demonstration or parade in Beijing this time...

I have recently conversed with many Beijingese. I wanted to know their assessment of People's China's 40-year-long journey and their views on another anniversary. The day after 1 October, when the red flag with five gold stars was raised on the flagpost in the center of Tiananmen Square at Mao Zedong's command and the birth of the new state was declared to the sound of the national anthem and an artillery salute, Moscow Radio informed the world of Soviet recognition of the PRC. The Soviet Government, driven by a desire for friendly relations with the Chinese people and confident that the central people's government of China expressed the will of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese population, took the decision to establish diplomatic relations and exchange ambassadors. The Soviet Union was the first state to recognize the PRC. Forty years of USSR-PRC relations are thus also being marked.

One of my interlocutors, Hu Sheng, president of the Academy of Social Sciences, is a man who enjoys authority in public and scientific circles. The postwar generation of Sinologists are well aware of his historical work.

"Forty is a time of maturity," according to Hu Sheng. "But is everything so clear as Confucius maintained? It is difficult to avoid error. Society is developing, new questions are arising, and no one is immune to error. According to Confucius, a person has gotten to know all the laws at 70 and acts sensibly, but even at that age mistakes can be made. Don't you agree?"—Hu Sheng said with a smile.

The historian advocates an objective, sensible assessment of those years. No going to extremes, no seeing only errors at one stage and successes at another. Even during the years of the 'cultural revolution,' which brought so much misfortune, China continued to develop. The year 1949 initiated the building of an independent, democratic, united, and powerful state.

"Let us look at these concepts in greater depth," Hu Sheng urged.

"Those who did not live in semicolonial China won't be able to understand the gravity of these words.

"The lessons of the 40th anniversary? Socialism in China is built on a very weak base. And the desire to speed up the overcoming of backwardness," Hu Sheng thinks, "generates a mood of haste and jumping the gun. We regard these mistakes as leftist and began to rectify them with the start of the reform. But the rightist tendency has been underestimated. 'Complete Europeanization' is not a geographical concept, but a call for capitalism on Chinese soil and the rejection of party leadership and the

socialist system. And yet we embarked on the path of reforms with the aim of renewing socialism. That must not be forgotten.

"What are the substantive results of the 40th anniversary? They have changed the face of China and its place on the map of the world. Here are a few figures.

"Investment in fixed capital is 126 times greater than in 1949. GNP has increased 12-fold. The volume of production of certain important commodities has reached a world level. Steel and electricity generation occupy fourth place in the world; oil fifth place; and grain, cotton, meat, and coal first place.

"China now occupies eighth place in the world in terms of GNP. China leads in agricultural output. With just 7 percent of world plowland it feeds 22 percent of the world population. China produces more bicycles, sewing machines, and electric fans than anyone else. Average life span has doubled: From 35 years before the revolution to 69 today. There is no doubt that scientific and technical progress has been made, including in such a sphere as cosmonautics (since the launch of the first satellite in 1970 China has become the fifth country in the world after the USSR, the United States, France, and Japan with rockets capable of putting space equipment into orbit).

"But there is no gainsaying statistics. One person in five in the world is Chinese. 'We are advancing bent under an inconceivable weight' is how one Chinese economist emotionally wrote to me recently. In per capita GNP China occupies 100th place in the world. Steel production per capita is 7 percent that of the Japanese and electricity generation 4 percent that of the U.S. level.

"Recent calculations by Chinese sociologists show that China occupies 70th place in terms of its level of social development out of 116 countries with a population in excess of 1 million. The average indicator is 77 points, China got 64. The USSR and the countries of Eastern Europe got 111 on average and the countries with market economies 142.

"A Chinese Academy of Sciences research group engaged in studying the main factors retarding the country's development has described four crises with which China will have to contend: population size, resources, the environment, and food. In the year 2000 the population will clearly have increased to 1.3 billion while the unemployed population in the countryside could potentially exceed 300 million. The demographic situation in the 21st century will substantially complicate many social problems."

In considering the problems arising in the country's development Hu Sheng regards inflation, rising prices, corruption, unfair distribution of the country's wealth, and, of course, excessive population growth and the persisting low level of education (one in five Chinese is illiterate) as the main ones. Now, when the country has confronted serious developmental difficulties (many of which were stressed in the statements made by students in the spring), it is trying to create a more favorable environment for the policy of reforms and openness to the world. Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, spoke once again about loyalty to this course, which stems from the CPC Central Committee December 1978 Plenum, at a recent press conference at the House of People's Congresses. There is no way back.

Hu Sheng rates very highly the help given China by the Soviet Union at the dawn of the state's birth, as he does the fact itself of diplomatic recognition. The situation at that time was very difficult. The Soviet leadership did not always believe that the CPC could win the civil war. There were doubts even after the revolution was victorious. But ultimately the Soviet Union did support the Chinese revolution, and we will never forget that, Hu Sheng said.

He considers that M.S. Gorbachev's visit opened a new page in Soviet-Chinese relations. Its results are being felt right now. Trade is developing rapidly. I would like there to be more scientific ties.

In May-June Hu Sheng headed a Chinese Academy of Sciences delegation in the USSR. And although, as he acknowledged, certain differences of emphasis did appear, there are no insuperable obstacles to cooperation with our scientists, in his opinion. "I do not accept the Western prophecies of socialism's defeat," the Chinese scientist concluded. "This system is bound to show its advantages."

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Philippine Congress Views Bases Referendum

HK0510023989 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] The Philippine Senate will not make a decision on the new Military Bases Agreement issue nor will the senators go against the country's Constitution by agreeing to a referendum on the matter of the U.S. military bases. This was declared by Senate President Jovita Salonga during a televised Senate session. Salonga said the terms of the Constitution stipulate that the Senate can ratify any treaties agreed by the government with any foreign countries. He added that the Senate is prepared to publicly air the matter of the military bases, and a referendum prior to signing a new agreement approved by the Senate can only take place if stipulated in the Constitution.

Meanwhile the matter of holding a referendum on the bases issue was discussed in the Lower House, headed by Speaker Ramon Mitra Jr. The congressmen contend that the issue is too delicate and cannot be left up to the 24 senators who oppose the retention of the bases to decide on this, even though the majority of senators share their view. The stand taken by the House of Representatives is

supported by President Corazon Aquino and by city mayors throughout the country.

Meanwhile, negotiations between the United States and the Philippines will open formally in Manila to tackle the issue of an agreement for the U.S. military bases in the country as the current agreement is due to expire in 1991. This was announced by Foreign Affairs Under Secretary Manuel T. Yan yesterday during a House of Representatives session. According to Yan, no formal date has yet been set but will be announced during Mrs Aquino's official visit to Washington next month.

Commentary Supports Lao Leader's Visit to PRC

BK0410135189 Moscow in Lao to Laos 1300 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Station commentator Aleksey Nikolayev on "the official visit to the PRC by Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, beginning on 5 October"]

[Text] The visit to China by the leader of the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR] is the fruit of a change for the better in the Lao-Chinese relations (?in the past year). It was deplorable that the friendly relations existing between Laos and China since ancient times deteriorated and faced difficulties in the late 1970's and early 1980's, (?chiefly) due to their conflicting stands regarding the problem in the State of Cambodia. The two countries not only developed conflicts toward each other in the propaganda field, but they also suspended bilateral relations in the trade and cultural fields. (?Untoward) incidents frequently occurred along the Lao-Chinese border.

The improvement of the relations between the two countries began in the mid-1980's. In 1986 and 1987, (?thanks to) the successes of two rounds of diplomatic negotiations between the LPDR and China, an agreement was reached on the improvement of relations between two countries. In June 1988, the two countries exchanged ambassadors.

Within a short period of time in the recent past, it appears that China and Laos have (?carried out) much work to improve their relations. The two countries signed and are implementing a bilateral trade agreement. In particular, the two countries have scored successes in expanding the exchange of essential goods between them in areas along their common border. In the past year, trade volume carried out along the Lao-Chinese border increased by six times compared to 1987. The two sides have started negotiations on preparing regulations on cross-border visits along their common border. This work is aimed at ensuring and creating facilities for the broadening of relations between the peoples along the border. Thanks to this work, the Lao-Chinese border will be turned into a border of friendship, peace, coexistence, and good-neighborliness.

Laos has paid considerable attention to the economic reforms that have been under way in China. Its interest in this matter is not a simple one. As we know very well, at present Laos is energetically consolidating its socio-economic structure. It is (?realigning) its policy on the market-oriented basis and its old concept of socialist construction. The Lao leadership holds that in so doing, lessons should be learned from the other socialist states, including the PRC. In May this year, a Lao delegation led by Somsavat Lengsavat, a close aide of Kaysone Phomvihan, paid a visit to Beijing to study lessons drawn from the economic reform in China. In addition, during the visit, negotiations were also held on the possibilities of expanding economic and trade relations between the two countries.

The visit to the PRC by Kaysone Phomvihan is also aimed at promoting the progress of Lao-Chinese cooperation. The LPDR leader's visit will be made at a time when a new political atmosphere is emerging in this part of the world, especially the improvement of the situation following the withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteer forces from the State of Cambodia.

Certainly, we firmly believe that the resumption of negotiations between the leaders of the LPDR and the PRC will be beneficial to the building of peace and cooperation in Asia.

Near East & South Asia

Vorontsov Confers With Afghanistan's Wakil

LD0410125189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1205 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 4 Oct (TASS)—Problems of achieving a political settlement in Afghanistan were discussed here today at a meeting between 'Abdul Wakil, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan, and Yuliy Vorontsov, first USSR deputy foreign minister. 'Abdul Wakil is in Moscow on his way from New York to Kabul.

The Soviet side expressed support for a plan to achieve such a settlement which was set out by Afghan President Najibullah in his speech at the ninth nonaligned conference of heads of state and governments in Belgrade.

'Abdul Wakil shared his impressions of the general political discussion held at the 44th UN General Assembly session. The two parties expressed the unanimous opinion on the need to increase the UN's role in achieving a political solution to the Afghan problem.

Afghan Ambassador Appointed; Vorontsov Released

LD0410191989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1700 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 4 Oct (TASS)—The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Boris Pastukhov as USSR ambassador to the Republic of Afghanistan. In

connection with this appointment, he has been released from his duties as USSR ambassador in Denmark.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has released Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy USSR minister of foreign affairs, from his duties as USSR ambassador in the Republic of Afghanistan.

Boris Pastukhov was born in 1933 in Moscow; he is Russian. He graduated from Moscow Higher Technical School. He worked as first secretary of Moscow's Baumanskiy rayon Komsomol Committee; he headed the Moscow City Komsomol Committee; and was first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee.

Later Boris Pastukhov was appointed chairman of the USSR State Committee on Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade. he has been in the diplomatic service since 1986.

ICO Ministers Adopt Resolution on Afghanistan

LD0510082489 Moscow TASS in English 0735 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] New York October 5 TASS—Foreign ministers of the member-countries of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (ICO), participating in the 44th session of the United Nations General Assembly, met here on Wednesday.

At a closed meeting the ministers adopted a resolution, "the situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security," proposed by Pakistan.

The resolution reflects profound concern over the situation in Afghanistan which has been caused by violations of the United Nations Charter and norms of interstate relations.

The resolution "calls upon all parties concerned to urgently work for the achievement of a comprehensive political solution, the cessation of hostilities, and the creation of the necessary conditions of peace and normalcy that would enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homeland in safety and honour."

The document also "emphasises the need for an early start of the intra-Afghan dialogue for the establishment of a broad-based government to ensure the broadest support and immediate participation of all segments of the Afghan people."

Stressing the right of the Afghan people to "determine their own form of government and to choose their own economic political and social system free from outside intervention," the Organisation of the Islamic Conference "called upon all parties concerned to exert every effort to bring to an end the protracted conflict," as well as to provide financial and material assistance for the economic and social rehabilitation of Afghanistan.

The adopted resolution will be submitted to the 44th U.N. General Assembly for consideration.

Najibullah Cited on Lack of Change in U.S. Policy

LD0410125989 Moscow TASS in English 1224 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] New Delhi October 4 TASS—"If the United States and Pakistan really wish to settle the Afghan problem, they have to acknowledge the new realities in Afghanistan: The People's Democratic Party has grown stronger and even more united during the seven months that have elapsed after the withdrawal of Soviet troops, whereas the Mujahidins are in complete disarray," the Afghan president Najibullah said in Kabul in an exclusive interview to the HINDUSTAN TIMES. "Rivalry within the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan", he noted, "is largely a thing of the past".

Najibullah noted that Washington and Islamabad had not proved by practical deeds their desire to reach a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan. He stressed that "so far there are no cardinal changes in the U.S. policy which is aimed at achieving a military settlement".

President Najibullah said that the government he headed was actively combating drug-trafficking. The authorities have arrested 195 drug smugglers and confiscated 4,000 kilograms of narcotics worth one billion afghanis. He pointed out that most of the people dealing in narcotics were Peshawar rebel leaders collaborating closely with some Pakistani officials.

Commentator on Criticism of USSR-Iran Relations

LD0410193589 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Arabic 1430 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] The development of Soviet-Iranian relations is arousing interest in various countries. Iraq has adopted a position of special interest in this respect. This is understandable, for despite the cease-fire agreement between Iraq and Iran which has been in force for more than a year, the two sides are still not at peace. They are still in a state of diplomatic confrontation, and it is from this vantage point that they assess each other's international relations.

Some days ago, for example, the Baghdad newspaper AL-IRAQ criticized Soviet-Iranian relations. It considers the improvement of these relations and the two sides' agreement to cooperate in order to ensure Iran's defensive capability as serving the aggressive policy pursued by the Iranian leadership and encouraging it to continue with this policy in the region.

Our commentator writes that this reaction to Soviet-Iranian relations in Iraq is consistent with the assessments being made of these relations by some politicians and media in the West. Our commentator writes: I do not know for whom these assessments are intended, but they are as far as they can be from reality.

To be sure, the Iranian-Soviet communique on the principles of relations says that the Soviet side agrees to

cooperate with the Iranian side in enhancing its defensive capability. This sentence in particular is taken from a broad document by some commentators with bad intentions and represented as some sort of sensational event. However, the fact of the matter is that there is no sensational event, for cooperation similar to this existed before 1982, and it has now been resumed! One wonders how this can be taken as something unnatural, as an aberration, epecially when the level of relations between two neighboring states is taken into consideration? Cooperation in the aforementioned sphere is not unprecedented in international relations, and cooperation of this sort also exists in Soviet-Iraqi relations.

Something else draws one's attention: This is how the lovers of sensational and false events in particular quote the Soviet-Iranian communique. They declare that the Soviet Union has expressed its readiness to export military supplies to Iran. But how is it that when they point to this the writers of some commentaries are deliberately silent over the fact that Moscow and Tehran declared in the same communique, in absolute terms, that cooperation between the two countries will develop in accordance with the principles and objectives of the United Nations and in the direction of entrenching peace and security in the region and in the whole world?

The joint Iranian-Soviet communique also contained a number of specific political recommendations for the two sides which aim at a final settlement of the Iranian-Iraqi conflict, the turning of the Arab Gulf and the Indian Ocean into a region of peace, and the settlement of conflicts in other parts of the world, from the Middle East to South Africa. Doesn't Baghdad itself call for that?

When talk revolves around arms supplies in the contemporary world, one should start from the purpose for which these arms are exported, and the quantity of supplies. For if the Soviet Union proceeds in accordance with the principle of reasonable sufficiency, then it is clear that any other state could also proceed in accordance with this principle. Our agreement with Iran in the sphere of defense has been made officially and openly. Following that, our critics in the West secretly exported arms to Iran for a clear objective, that is, to pour oil on the flames of the Iranian-Iraqi conflict.

It is necessary to take another point into consideration, that is, the qualitative weight given to military cooperation in Iranian-Soviet relations is at a minimum, and is basically aimed at consolidating peace and stability in the region.

'Arafat Urges Namibia-Style Solution in Mideast

PM0410102589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Y. 'Arafat Interview"]

[Text] Tokyo, 2 Oct—Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, has proposed that a model on the lines of the Namibia settlement be used in the Near East. In an interview to the KYODO news agency he declared that he accepts the Namibian option for the Israeli-occupied Arab territories. The essence of this plan would consist of holding elections under UN aegis for the Palestinian Arabs on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza sector and the subsequent achievement of independence by them.

Y. 'Arafat, who was visiting Tokyo at the invitation of the Japanese Government, declared that the peace process in the Near East is being held up by the one-sided stance of the United States which clearly gives preference to Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir's plan which, essentially, means the preservation of the Israeli occupation of Palestine.

The chairman of the PLO Executive Committee again expressed himself in favor of the earliest possible convocation of an international conference on the Near East which, in his opinion, is the most realistic way of achieving peace in the region.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Angolan President Receives Soviet Ambassador

LD0410103689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1452 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Excerpt] [No dateline as received]—J.E. Dos Santos, president of the People's Republic of Angola, chairman of the Popular Movement for Liberation of Angola-Labor Party, received V.N. Kazimirov, USSR ambassador to the People's Republic of Angola in Luanda on Monday. Kazimirov conveyed to the Angolan leader a message from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. [passage omitted]

Kenya-Somalia, Uganda-Rwanda Ties Reviewed

EA0210213589 Moscow International Service in Somali 1600 GMT 1 Oct 89

[From the "Last Week in East Africa" program]

[Text] The leading news agencies of the world have been reporting the 21 September incident at the Kenya-Somalia border. Reports say that Somali forces crossed the Kenyan border at Liboi and opened fire on a communications center there. Four Kenyan policemen were killed and four others wounded. This report was put out by the official KENYAN NEWS AGENCY. The Government of Somalia did not accept the way that events had been reported and a statement released by the Foreign Ministry of Somalia said that government forces had been discharging their appointed duties of searching for and killing bandits and armed individuals wearing military uniforms, who had been stealing from the people and had raided a number of villages in Somalia.

The Government of Somalia believed that these armed criminals had escaped over the border into Kenya and

the Kenyan security forces opened the border for them and then, it is reported, opened fire on the Somali forces.

We are likely to know the truth of the matter in the not too distant future after the investigation into this incident—which both sides are willing to permit—has been concluded. However, what is regrettable about this is that 6 years ago the Government of Somalia agreed to a Kenyan proposal and ended its support for armed groups carrying out action in the area of Kenya populated by Somalis. Since then there has been stability on the Kenya-Somalia border.

This agreement stabilized not only the relations between the two countries, but also the general situation in the whole region. But what followed? Naturally, the reports which have been arriving have not been calm. The ASSOCIATED PRESS, quoting informed sources, reported that Kenya had sent forces to the border. Normally, only police are stationed at the border. The animosity against Somalis has spread to large sections of the Kenyan people.

Daniel arap Moi, the president of Kenya, in an unofficial meeting in his home town, Kabarnet, said that the reasons for conflicts and incidents of this kind were related to the situation inside Somalia. The president said that no one could say with certainty who rules the country, because everyone claims to reign it. This statement by the president was especially pointed out by the AFP reporter.

However, it looks as if a solution will now be found to this conflict. This hope was raised by the visit of the Somali Armed Forces delegation, led by Hussein Sheikh Abdirahman, the minister of defense, last Wednesday, 27 September to the Kenyan capital city, even though nothing was reported on the purpose of the visit. [music]

The instability in Somalia affects others countries in the region. Last week we learned of one way to calm the situation which has been proposed by the government. Abdurahman Jama Barre, the foreign minister of Somalia, on his way to the UN General Assembly, in New York, announced in Paris that at the end of next year a multiparty system would be introduced in the country. We comment on Mohammad Siad Barre, the president of Somalia's decree:

Recently, the president has proposed, on a number of occasions, that political organizations be legalized and parliamentary elections be held in December of next year. A special committee has been appointed to prepare and organize these elections.

Political observers view this decree differently. Some say that it is a mask of pseudo democracy as a last pitch attempt to remain in power. Others believe that it shows that the president has realized that only a democratic system can secure stability in Somalia. Remember that all the political parties in the country were banned 20 years ago, on 21 October 1969, the day the Mohamed Siad Barre regime came to power, but, now, the foreign minister of the same regime has said that the Somali people are ready to participate in multiparty elections. We shall see whether this is true, although, as yet, the opposition forces have not adopted a clear stand on the regime's proposal.

Among these opposition movements is the Somali National Movement which, as stated by Abdurahman Jama, himself, controls two thirds of the northern region in Somalia [music]

We started our program, today, with reports of the saddening incident on the Kenya-Somalia border. However, we shall end it with a report which creates hope in us.

The meeting of the Rwanda-Uganda joint committee has ended in Kampala and agreed on methods of monitoring the border between the two countries and simplifying passage across the border. As is known, Rwanda and Uganda have suffered from the problems of smuggling and cattle rustling for a long time. As a result of this agreement between the two countries those involved in these activities will be seriously cornered. The two sides have agreed to construct properly guarded border posts. It is very important that emphasis was placed on these posts, which should prevent the occurrence of unexpected events and incidents. It has been agreed that commercial operations will commence between Rwandan and Ugandan families living at these posts. As is known, commerce is the best way to build mutual trust.

Consultations With Kenya Held in Moscow

PM0310144389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "Consultations Held"]

[Text] Soviet-Kenyan political consultations were held in Moscow 28 September between USSR Deputy Foreign Minister A.L. Adamishin and B. Kiplagat [name as published], permanent secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of the Republic of Kenya. There was an in-depth discussion of the situation on the African Continent, with emphasis on the hotbeds of tension which still exist there, primarily in southern Africa and the Horn of Africa. The prospects for developing bilateral cooperation between the USSR and the Republic of Kenya and imparting a broader and more multifaceted nature to it were also discussed.

Participating in the consultations were Yu.A. Yukalov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry African Countries Administration; V.S. Kitayev, USSR ambassador to Kenya; and M. Kisaka, Kenyan ambassador to the USSR.

A.L. Adamishin gave a luncheon in B. Kiplagat's honor.

Yakovlev, Mozambique's Matsinhe Meet

PM0410133589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[Report on CPSU Politburo member Aleksandr Yakovlev's meeting with Mozambique's Mariano Matsinhe, member of the Politburo of the Mozambique Liberation Front, Frelimo, party Central Committee, entitled "Conversation at CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] Member of the Politburo and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Aleksandr Yakovlev met on 3 October with Mariano Matsinhe, member of the Politburo of the Frelimo party Central Committee. There was a friendly conversation, during which there was a discussion of some questions of Soviet-Mozambican cooperation and several international issues, including the situation in southern Africa. The Soviet side expressed support for the Mozambican leaders' efforts to end foreign interference in Mozambique's internal affairs and to normalize the situation in the country.

East Europe

Yazov on Soviet Military Withdrawals From GDR

LD0410141989 Moscow TASS in English 1339 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Soviet Union regards strict respect of the territorial and political realities and the inviolability of existing borders as one of the most urgent demands of security policy, Soviet Defence Minister Dmitry Yazov has said.

In an interview with the GDR magazine FREIE WELT, he stressed this was one of the main pillars of the foundation on which a common European house could be built through joint efforts.

The importance of the GDR's existence for the history of European development could not be overrated, Yazov continued.

"Socialism is firmly rooted in German soil," Yazov emphasized. "Important impulses for developing the all-European process and for reaffirming the principles of cooperation and good-neighbourliness emanate from here."

The Soviet people were happy that the GDR could mark its 40-year existence with great achievements in all fields and with high international recognition. The GDR, he added, consistently and perseveringly pursued the joint foreign policy course of the Warsaw Treaty countries and rendered an important contribution to European detente.

Dmitry Yazov reaffirmed the consistent implementation of the new Soviet military doctrine. His country had withdrawn from GDR territory two tank divisions, two flight squadrons, one training regiment, three airborne battalions and a number of smaller units. They comprised 1,988 tanks, 169 artillery pieces, 126 aircraft and 11,416 troops. At the same time remaining contingents had been regrouped into a new, purely defensive structure.

The total strength of Soviet Armed Forces had been reduced by 148,900 troops, 6,680 tanks, 1,070 artillery pieces and 150 bridging and landing devices, Yazov pointed out.

The Soviet Union was making intense efforts to solve further disarmament issues, especially to completing a treaty on halving strategic offensive weapons of the Soviet Union and the USA. The position of NATO that an agreement on reducing conventional armed forces had to be reached before problems of tactical weapons could be discussed was an attempt at unnecessarily delaying the solution of the issue, Yazov underlined.

Zaykov, Primakov Attend GDR Anniversary Meeting

LD0410212989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] A solemn meeting of representatives of the working people of Moscow was devoted to the GDR's 40th anniversary, its national holiday. It was held in the Hall of Columns of the House of Unions in Moscow today. The speakers noted the great successes achieved by the GDR people in various spheres of life in the past years, its contribution to the transformation of Europe into a continent of peace and good-neighborliness. Comrade Zaykov and Primakov took part in the meeting. In the evening the GDR ambassador organized a reception to mark the festive occasion.

Perfilyev 'Shares' GDR Hopes on Refugees

AU0510101789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Oct 89 p 2

[ADN report: "USSR Shares Hope of GDR"]

[Text] Moscow—On Monday [3 October] the spokesman of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, Vadim Perfilyev, described as unlawful attempts by the FRG to extend its competence to GDR citizens. Asked about the USSR's stance on the emigration of GDR citizens, he stated, referring to the most recent statement by the spokesman of the GDR Foreign Ministry: "As you know, the GDR has made the decision after corresponding consultations with the FRG. We share the hope, expressed by representatives of the GDR Foreign Ministry on 1 October, that the FRG authorities will draw corresponding conclusions concerning the character and the activities of FRG Embassies abroad."

Warsaw TV Reports Militia Attack at Lvov Festival

LD0410195389 Warsaw Television Serice in Polish 1615 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Students at the university and polytechnic in Lvov have gone on strike. As Soviet television reports,

the cause is the allegedly brutal dispersal of a peaceful demonstration on 1 October. The Folk Art Festival was coming to an end. On that day, too, activists from informal groupings organized ceremonies marking—as Soviet television calls it—the 50th anniversary of the unification of western Ukraine with the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The column that passed through the center cut short the performance at the Folklore Theater and sought to disrupt the end of the folklore festival at the Druzhba Stadium. In the evening, individual groups attacked functionaries who were routinely patrolling the city outside the main post office, the library, and on Lenin Prospekt. At about 2200, 300 people started to picket the municipal internal affairs office. When called upon to disperse, stones and bottles flew from the crowd at the militia. Sticks supporting banners started to be used. The militia was forced to use rubber truncheons. Fifteen demonstrators and 21 militiamen were injured, Soviet television reported.

According to GAZETA WYBORCZA, the militia attacked the people who were enjoying themselves, and arrested about 12 people, when a group with national Ukrainian flags joined them. When the Lvov inhabitants tried to find out what had happened to those arrested, the militia used rubber bullets, even striking at women and children. Those injured did not receive medical attention under the pretext of a lack of agreement from the prosecutor.

MSZMP Leader Nyers Speaks on Congress Issues

PM0410122589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[Interview with Rezso Nyers, chairman of the MSZMP, by correspondent Vladimir Gerasimov: "Hard Time of Renewal"; date of interview not specified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Budapest—The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Congress will begin its work in Budapest 6 October. The country and society are looking forward to it, in the hope that it will enshrine the path of renewal mapped out by the party. Rezso Nyers, chairman of the MSZMP, answered the questions asked by Vladimir Gerasimov, our correspondent in Hungary.

[Gerasimov] How would you characterize the situation which made it necessary to convene the current congress?

[Nyers] The congress is an extraordinary one, because according to our current rules it should only have been held next year. It was made necessary by the fact that Hungary decided in May 1988 at the MSZMP party conference to begin a political turnaround, that is, to effect political and economic reforms over a broad spectrum and implement the principles of pluralism in social institutions. Thus we are in a process of extensive political changes, which need to be analyzed.

Following the party conference the need for political change became greater and more urgent. Reformist measures in the sphere of politics and law, which necessitated the adoption of a concept for a new Hungarian Constitution and then the extension of the principle of pluralism to the implementation of multiparty democracy, followed one after the other at particularly dynamic rates. The process of creating a multiparty system is already under way in Hungary

Relations between the government and the parliament have changed. The Hungarian parliament now exercises important, constant supervision over government activity and reserves the right to decide on fundamental questions. All this is creating a new situation for the party.

Significant changes occurred at the party conference last May in the composition of MSZMP leading organs—which satisfied party members then, but criticism of local and central party leadership activity has become increasingly forceful with the democratization of party life since last September. Very many party workers lacked a resolute and clear concept, and MSZMP members are critical of the fact that there have been too many passive or even conservative thinkers involved in leadership. This is making it difficult for the party to work successfully.

[Gerasimov] What tasks face the congress and what hopes are you pinning on its work? Is there a possibility of consolidating those forces in the MSZMP which have not yet found points of contact?

[Nyers] The congress is faced with the task of radically transforming the party. This applies to both its program and its internal structure It must be capable of stimulating the new historical phase in Hungary's development.

The current draft party program which will be discussed at the congress focuses the party's social goals and tasks around the idea of democratic socialism. The new program statement mobilizes party forces to implement this idea.

The main "paragraph" in the program is as follows: the long-term creation of a national economy with mixed ownership, in which public, cooperative, private, and foreign ownership coexist, strictly subordinate to the demands of a market economy. State economic policy will, naturally, exert a strong influence on the national economy in relation to questions of market conditions, technical development, the social sphere, and international cooperation.

In accordance with the principles of democratic socialism, the program statement proclaims that the country's political system must—on the basis of a new constitution—be based on foundations of democratic parliamentarianism and self-management for cities and villages. In this connection freedom of association and assembly and freedom to found parties while observing

the constitution must be exercised. This situation will open up a new political ball game for us, whereby the MSZMP will find itself competing with other parties on an equal footing and must win the people's trust by persuasion, and it will open up a practical opportunity for it to exercise its influence in the interests of society's development.

I hope that the decisive majority will be on the side of the reform policy at the congress.

Let me point out that various platforms have taken shape within the party movement, assessing the internal situation within the country differently and drawing differing conclusions from this regarding future party policy.

It seems almost impossible to reduce to a common denominator all these platforms and all the opinions held by the broad range of party members who are not involved in them. The extremes that emerge do not permit this. That is why we must, in fact, create a political stance and organizational procedure within the party without paying attention to the polar extremes. It must be said that these extremes do not present integrated platforms but are a pseudoradical minority that has been organized into groups. But the deciding majority will find points of contact.

[Gerasimov] I would like to hear your assessment of the party's role in conditions of the implementation of the latest phase of the economic reform and the restructuring of political institutions.

[Nyers] The party's role in implementing economic reform will be, on the one hand, to elaborate concepts for economic policy while cooperating regularly with the trade union movement, which is considered to be its strategic ally, and also with the cooperative movement and the scientific sphere. In this process the party must pay attention to all specific interests and to scientific viewpoints in the given sphere, and then turn all this into a unified economic concept and a concept for social policy so that the party can initiate an examination of the proposals in parliament and in the formation of government policy.

It is extremely important for the party to keep up, particularly, with the interests and prevailing views and opinions of its main mass base—workers and agrarian and cooperative workers—so that it can help to elucidate and then implement their demands. It is also important for the party to help people in this social sphere understand politics and take up a stance by providing them with political information and coordinating views and opinions. The appearance of a workers' section, along with an agrarian-cooperative section, possessing relative independence within the party will probably be the organizational form of this.

The restructuring of the system of political institutions requires the party to articulate its attitude to the other parties which are now emerging. It must seek alliance with leftist parties, identifying points of contact and points of difference. In connection with the possible appearance of bourgeois and conservative parties the party must clearly detach itself from them in accordance with democratic principles and have correct relations with them in state and public institutions. In connection with the activity of the parliament (or the local councils) it will be very important to organize regular work within these bodies by the party factions. Party factions must have corresponding autonomy in order to be able to participate successfully in lawmaking and supervision. At the same time they must always have organic links with the central or local party leadership. In the rules submitted to the congress the party's parliamentary faction will be represented in the central party leadership, while the factions on the local councils will be represented in the local party leadership.

I would like to emphasize that consistent, bilateral exchange of opinions will be necessary in the party within the system of contacts after the congress. Opinions must flow from below to the central and local bodies on a wider scale than they do now. The same also applies to the party's other contacts. Party members working in trade unions, cooperatives, and youth and other organizations must have more opportunities to shape opinion. In the new situation questions of organizing these contacts and of their effectiveness must be resolved as quickly as possible.

[Gerasimov] What ways do you see for Hungary's further development, and how do you see its cooperation with socialist countries and the Warsaw Pact states?

[Nyers] The main task for the next year in Hungarian politics will be to adopt a new constitution. We want the basic stages of its preparation to be examined in the current State Assembly.

After the election of deputies to the new State Assembly there will be a new system of government in our country. The State Assembly, comprising representatives of various parties and nonparty people, will exert a crucial influence on government policy and on the composition of the government.

The government must implement the values of civil democracy and democratic socialism in the next constitution. It must cleave to international treaties so as to strive for cooperation with all peoples and countries of the world. That is, changes in the country's leadership will be aimed at transforming, where necessary, the practice of government policy on economic, administrative, cultural, and foreign policy questions rather than at changing the social system. During the modification of the constitution, which will take place this October, and the subsequent definitive adoption of a new constitution next year, legal continuity is being resolutely guaranteed. All the international treaties and agreements concluded and recognized by the previous and present Hungarian governments will retain their legal force. Both the MSZMP and the majority of the new parties accept and

respect our involvement in the Warsaw Pact and CEMA and the principles of preserving our alliance-policy ties. For its part the MSZMP believes that this stance can also be retained in the future if it proves possible to effect significant reforms within the Warsaw Pact and CEMA.

To ensure a full assessment of our situation and endeavors we are bound to make it clear that the extent of our country's involvement in these alliance-policy systems depends on what internal reforms take place within these systems—in what directions and on what scale. If it proves possible to put more national interest and endeavors into the future system of cooperation, there will then be the possibility of operating on the basis of consensus and extensive Hungarian participation. If not, our cooperation will be to a certain extent merely formal.

Vlasov Concludes SFRY Visit, Departs for Home

PM0410090189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit Completed"]

[Text] Titograd, 30 Sep—A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, who is in Yugoslavia at the invitation of the Serbian and Montenegrin federal assembly executive councils, today visited the city of Cetinje where he was acquainted with its ancient monuments and visited Budva City—a well-known tourist center of the SFRY. His journey then took him to Kotor—one of the oldest cities of Montenegro renowned for its revolutionary traditions. The museums contain documents describing the historic ties between Kotor and Russia. The first captains of the Russian fleet created by Peter I studied naval matters here. Today Kotor is an industrial, cultural, and tourist center of Montenegro.

The Soviet guest visited the shipyard named for Velko Vlahovic in Bijela City, met with its leaders, and evinced interest in the prospects for the city's development.

On the same day A.V. Vlasov left for home. At the airport in Tivat he was seen off by R. Kontic, president of the Montenegro Federal Assembly Executive Council, and other officials. V.P. Loginov, USSR ambassador to the SFRY, was among the sendoff party.

Vlasov Interviewed on Visit

PM0410132189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[Interview (presumably in Titograd on 30 September) with A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, by TASS correspondents V. Kuznetsov and M. Ovcharenko: "To Learn From Each Other"]

[Text] Belgrade—A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers, paid an official friendly visit to the SFRY 25 through 30 September. At the end of his visit to Yugoslavia he granted an interview to TASS' Belgrade correspondents specially for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

[Correspondents] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation, including that between the RSFSR and Serbia and Montenegro, has long-standing traditions. Which new forms of this partnership have emerged recently? What are the main results of your visit to Yugoslavia?

[Vlasov] Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation is underpinned by very rich historical experience. I will begin with the fact that at meetings with our Yugoslav friends they emphasized the special importance of permanent contacts along party lines. Of course, in the sphere of interstate relations trade and economic contacts stand out. Mindful of the fact that the Soviet Union is Yugoslavia's biggest trading partner, we consider it our duty to show constant concern for the normal development of these relations. It goes without saying that ties in the spheres of science and technology, culture and education, and sports and tourism are not left to one side either.

The RSFSR's cooperation with two SFRY republics—Serbia and Montenegro—came into being more than 10 years ago. So there is a natural mutual desire to strengthen the long-standing historical ties between our republics' peoples and to fill them with specific new content—which is manifested, above all, in the setting up and development of contacts in the economic sphere.

Fundamentally new approaches and opportunities have been opened up in this respect thanks to perestroyka in the USSR. Some 23 ministries and departments, 4 autonomous republics, 3 krays, 14 oblasts, and 58 agro-industrial combines and associations are currently involved in Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation on the RSFSR side.

Life has suggested ways to switch from conventional commodity exchange deals to the setting up of joint ventures and production facilities and scientific and technical projects and developments. Ever-greater emphasis is being placed on collaboration between enterprises, in light industry for example. An enterprise for the production of linoleum with a capacity of 20 million square meters, which is being constructed in Kuybyshev Oblast with the participation of the Yugoslav "Sintelon" Association, will start producing in 1991.

We attach special significance to the expansion of cooperation with Serbian and Montenegrin friends in the sphere of agro-industrial production. This was begun by the creation of the "Kuban" Agro-Industrial Complex, whose experience is today being actively applied in all parts of the republic.

And a few more words about a very important aspect of cooperation. In Serbia and Montenegro we have seen modern production facilities, shops, and mobile small-capacity facilities for processing agricultural products. We had to admit frankly that we had clearly underestimated the work in this area. We agreed to hold bilateral working meetings in the next few weeks to draw up a specific program to coordinate our efforts in the production and processing of agricultural products.

I would like to cite as an example of a new form of organizing cooperation, which reflects the present needs and the planned scale of contacts, the creation in Serbia of a mighty consortium embracing more than 70 firms, enterprises, and banks for the realization of large-scale projects in the spheres of industry and agriculture in the RSFSR. Clearly, we should also think about creating an analogous association in the Russian Federation.

In short, in the sphere of economic ties with Serbia and Montenegro we are seeking to create long-term and stable ties between enterprises and firms. And we are guided by the same approaches in the development of scientific, technical, cultural, and other ties.

I believe that ties along public lines will expand. I foresee the possibility and the necessity of expanding comradely contacts also for an exchange of experience between party organizations in Soviet Russia and organizations of the Leagues of Communists of Serbia and Montenegro.

Finally, I would like to note another new form of contact: the creation of the mixed Russian-Serbian and Russian-Montenegrin Cooperation Commissions. They are headed by deputy heads of the republics' governments. The priority tasks of these commissions include, as we have agreed, the in-depth analysis of the state of ties and all kinds of cooperation between the republics, the elaboration of proposals for their further development, and the practical formulation within the next few months of the final version of the program for 1991-1995.

[Correspondents] During your stay in Serbia and Montenegro you have visited a number of industrial enterprises and agro-industrial combines, met with Yugoslav working people, and familiarized yourself with experience of self-management. What, in your view, is of the greatest interest to our country?

[Vlasov] I wish to point out first of all that we are interested in Yugoslavia's experience from the viewpoint of what our Yugoslav friends have succeeded in and, of course, what has not worked out in comparison with the original schemes.

I must remark that great interest is being shown in our perestroyka in Yugoslavia both in the leadership and among ordinary people. I can say without exaggeration that the Yugoslavs are literally "rooting" for its success and emphasize that the fate of world socialism largely depends on this.

Self-determination and the creation of worker councils have helped to involve working people more actively in the management of affairs in the national economy and in society as a whole and made it possible to strengthen among workers the sense of being master in their own enterprises and the people's sense of involvement in the social and political processes under way in the country. At the same time, under conditions of broad decentralization and the weakening of the federation's functions, unfavorable trends have also intensified.

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] is now taking urgent measures aimed at making certain amendments to the mechanism of national economic management, reforming the political system, and reorganizing the party.

All components of the radical reform are being improved in depth. The reform's essence may be characterized as follows: the national economy's abandonment of the "contract economy," which has not justified itself, and the switch to the extensive use of market relations, whereby, given pluralism of forms of ownership, the leading role is allocated to public socialist ownership.

In the political sphere the substance of the changes consists in abandoning institutions which block the adoption of decisions of an all-Yugoslav nature. This means, above all, overcoming disintegration trends under conditions of the supremacy of all-union legislation.

In party building it means strengthening the LCY's unity on the principles of democratic centralism and broader internal party democracy, preventing the party's federalization, and strictly delimiting party and state functions. So, as you see, the creative quest in Yugoslavia today is proceeding in a similar channel to ours. This task acquires special topicality in connection with the fact that both the LCY and the CPSU are approaching their congresses, the timing of which has, as is known, been brought forward.

[Correspondents] What do you see as the difficulties of developing the USSR's trade and economic relations with the SFRY? Were these problems examined during your meetings with the leaders of Serbia and Montenegro?

[Vlasov] I will remind you that the Soviet Union is Yugoslavia's first foreign trade partner. Its share of SFRY commodity turnover stands at approximately 25 percent, while Yugoslavia is among the 10 biggest partners of the USSR.

It is clear that special mutual attention must be devoted to Soviet-Yugoslav trade and economic relations. What is alarming here? The structure of commodity turnover that has taken shape, and primarily the structure of Soviet exports, more than 80 percent of which are made up of raw materials and energy carriers, has already become an obstacle to substantial growth in the volumes of our trade with the SFRY. The point is that, on the one

hand, our export resources for these kinds of products are not unlimited and, on the other, there has been a sharp drop in precisely these prices on the world market.

Can these difficulties be overcome? I believe so. But, of course, mutual efforts will be required here. And we hold the same opinion as our Yugoslav comrades on this. We must take the path of more profound economic cooperation, utilizing the benefits and advantages of each side. The idea of implementing large-scale construction projects on a barter basis was discussed in particular.

[Correspondents] During your stay in Yugoslavia much attention was devoted to problems of interethnic relations. How do Yugoslav comrades picture ways to harmonize them?

[Vlasov] As our Yugoslav friends told us, for many years they proceeded from the confidence that the nationalities question had been resolved and so they did not devote proper attention to it. But life has imperiously reminded them, as well as us, incidentally, that an underassessment of such a delicate matter as interethnic relations in a multinational country can entail serious political costs.

I would like to single out three aspects of the practice of resolving the nationalities question in the SFRY. First, we are deeply impressed by the sensitive attitude in Yugoslavia toward the sovereign rights of all peoples and ethnic groups and the rigorous respect for their interests, specific national nature, and originality. Second, the Yugoslav experience of widely involving the republics and provinces in the active elaboration of state decisions at a federal level is of interest. Finally, the determination with which the LCY champions the principles of the priority of all-Yugoslav laws is noteworthy.

We have formed the impression that, despite the existing manifestations of separatist sentiments, the sense of a "united family" has put down deep roots in the country over the years of people's power. It substantially facilitates the work of Yugoslav Communists in renewing the federation on the principles of genuine equality of rights for all the peoples and ethnic groups who live within it and their mutual responsibility for its strength, unity, and stability.

Dispute Over Slovenian Constitution Examined

PM0310141589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Ye. Vostrukhov dispatch under the "We Follow Events" rubric: "Constitution on Trial"]

[Text] Belgrade—Slovenia, one of Yugoslavia's six federal republics, is now in open confrontation with the federal state leadership.

As already reported in IZVESTIYA (No 272), the republic's assembly (parliament) has ratified all 68 proposed amendments and additions to the Slovenian Constitution, some of which are at variance with certain articles of the current SFRY Constitution. The Slovenian Assembly decision is regarded by many people in Yugoslavia as posing a real threat to the federal state's integrity and the friendly union of its peoples and ethnic groups. However, Slovenian deputies, broad sections of the public of Slovenia, and the leadership of the League of Communists of Slovenia hold the opposite opinion (this was confirmed by the recently held republic central committee plenum in Ljubljana).

Who, then, is right in this unprecedented dispute—the federal "center" or the steadfast republic deputies?

The Yugoslav press reminds people that preparation for changes in the Constitution is an agonizing process now in any republic. The main reason for the difficulty is the political and economic situation in society due to the long crisis affecting it. The reforms under way of the political system and the economy and within the party itself have made it necessary to change certain articles of the Constitution of the federation as a whole and the constitutions of the federal republics.

Constitutional changes are a difficult, often very delicate task for any country, particularly a multinational state. Amendments and additions to the Constitution should help society solve successfully the conflicts that arise in it. It is important that a new law defend the interests of all the inhabitants of a republic and not grant privileges to some nationalities at the expense of others. All "federal units" should enjoy full equality in a federative state. And, incidentally, equal obligations.

That is why many people in federal Yugoslavia today think that, in adopting amendments to its Constitution, the Republic of Slovenia has violated the former parity of common rights and obligations. Slovenia can now choose at any time to alter its borders, including those that are state borders of the SFRY, and to secede from it and become part of another state. Or become an independent state. The ratified amendments vest republic organs with the right to stop, at their own discretion, the execution of federal laws, orders, and acts. The federation is deprived of the right to declare a state of emergency in the republic, and all natural resources become the republic's sole property. All state organs on its territory employ the Slovenian language exclusively.

These additions to the Constitution and the firm positions adopted by all Assembly deputies in upholding the sole interests of "the Slovenian people and all citizens of the republic" are meeting with criticism and condemnation outside Slovenia. The Slovenians' arguments that only their Assembly can in full compliance with the law change the republic Constitution in the name of "the people and citizens" are unconvincing, in the opinion of critics.

A decision by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Plenum which analyzes the political situation in the country in the light of the proposed amendments to the Slovenian Constitution reads: "It is the sovereign right of the Slovenian people,

like all the other peoples and ethnic groups and all working people and citizens of Slovenia, to make a decision on changes to the Constitution of their republic. But it is their right and duty, together with the other peoples and ethnic groups, working people, and citizens of the other republics, to strengthen Yugoslavia as a federal state and a democratic socialist federal association in accordance with the SFRY Constitution."

Most of the Slovenian amendments are designed to renew and democratize society, improve the economy, separate it from politics, and establish pluralism of opinions, tolerance, and consideration for people... in society. But an unprecedented campaign is being waged against 6 of the 68 amendements. Thousands-strong rallies have been held in Montenegro, Macedonia, Serbia, Bosnia, and Hercegovina, where participants energetically protested the Slovenian Assembly decision as threatening the federation's unity and integrity. Support was simultaneously expressed for the LCY Central Committee plenum resolution calling for the unity of all the peoples and ethnic groups living in the SFRY. More than 50,000 people took part in a rally in Titograd, capital of Montenegro, and as many in Novi Sad, capital of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. Here are a few of the rally slogans: "No division here!" "Yugoslavia is a whole and united country!" and "We will not surrender Yugoslavia's borders, we will defend Yugoslavia!" Telegrams, letters, and resolutions from rallies are pouring in to Yugoslav party and state organs from every corner of the country.

The SFRY Federal Assembly Federal Executive Council decided by a majority of votes to put the revamped Slovenian Constitution "on trial." As TANJUG reports, Federal Executive Council deputies have asked the Yugoslav Constitutional Court to examine the situation in the light of the disputed amendments made to the Constitution in Ljubljana. Although the contradictions with the existing SFRY Constitution are not in doubt, there is no legal means in Yugoslavia whereby such conflicts may be overcome. To date neither the supreme state organ of Yugoslavia (the SFRY Presidency) nor the supreme legislative organ (the SFRY Federal Assembly) has been able even to defer the adoption of the disputed amendments. The next few days will show how effective the Constitutional Court's actions prove.

Vorotnikov Receives Czechoslovakia's Kempny

PM0510075389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Guests of the Russian Federation"]

[Text] A delegation from the Czech National Council headed by its chairman J. Kempny arrived in Moscow 3 October on an official friendly visit.

The guests were met at the airport by V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium; S.I. Chistoplyasov, secretary of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; V.M. Vinogradov, RSFSR foreign minister; and J. Rehorek, CSSR ambassador to the USSR.

Questions of further improving Soviet-Czechoslovak relations and the prospects for developing friendly ties between the Russian Federation and the CSSR were discussed at a conversation held the same day between V.I. Vorotnikov and J. Kempny. The successful development of ties in the political, economic, cultural, scientific and technical, and other spheres was noted with satisfaction. It was stressed that strengthening regular contacts between the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and the Czech National Council, the principles for which were articulated in the Soviet statement signed during the visit to the CSSR by the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium last September, is of great significance for this.

The guest's attention was drawn to the decisions of the recent CPSU Central Committee plenum, which adopted the CPSU platform "Party Nationalities Policy in Contemporary Conditions." V.I. Vorotnikov informed his interlocutor about the work of the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the preparations for the coming elections to the local soviets and spoke about the planned transfer of the autonomous oblasts and krays of the federation and the RSFSR to economic accountability.

It was noted that the ideas of renewal have won over the broad people's masses. However, the complexity and disparate nature of the processes under way in the country and the unusual nature of the situation often create difficulties. The main question for us now is the economy. Our immediate task is to to relieve the buildup of social tension in society.

J. Kempny spoke about the activity of the Czech National Council to implement the pressing tasks of party, economic, and cultural building and about the socioeconomic transformations in various spheres of the country's life and pointed out the difficulties encountered on this path.

The common opinion was voiced that the progressive changes taking place in the USSR and the CSSR have a great deal in common and are opening up new horizons for the development of Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation and for boosting its effectiveness.

T.G. Ivanova, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, S.I. Chistoplyasov, V.M. Vinogradov, and also J. Rehorek took part in the conversation, which took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

CPSU's Ryabov Holds Talks in Czechoslovakia

PM0510132189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Interparty Contacts"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan for interparty ties between the CPSU and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ], a delegation of CPSU party workers headed by V.V. Ryabov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department, visited the CSSR from 27 September through 3 October. There was an exchange of party work experience in present-day conditions and an examination of progress in the implementation of the program of ideological cooperation between the CPSU and the CPCZ.

Zaykov Receives Sofia City Party Delegation

PM2909132789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In a Cordial Atmosphere"]

[Text] The unbreakable friendship between the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples grows stronger with each passing year and is translated into specific deeds. The close bonds of brotherhood linking Communists and working people from Moscow and Sofia are an organic part of the fruitful cooperation between our parties and states.

This was emphasized 26 September, when L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow City CPSU Committee, met a delegation from the Sofia City Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Committee, which is visiting Moscow and is headed by I. Panev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the party city committee.

During the conversation, those taking part briefed each other on the processes of socialist renewal now under way in the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic, and exchanged opinions on the prospects for further expanding and deepening the collaboration between party organizations and labor collectives from the two capitals.

Bulgarian Ambassador to the USSR G. Pankov took part in the meeting which proceeded in a cordial and comradely atmosphere.

Health Minister on Cooperation With GDR, AIDS

AU1909142889 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 14 Sep 89 p 5

[Interview with USSR Health Minister Yevgeniy Ivanovich Chasov by Marianne Waterstradt in Moscow: "Cooperation Helps the Cure"; date not given]

[Excerpts] Waterstradt: What has cooperation between USSR and GDR scientists been like most recently?

Chasov: To cite just a few examples: In 1988, 86 Soviet doctors participated in solving topical problems of joint projects in the GDR. At the same time 121 GDR scientists worked in hospitals and scientific centers in the USSR. Another issue: In our country there is no single large hospital, no scientific center, where we do not use technical medical equipment from the GDR. In 1989 the Soviet health sector has received medical technical equipment and pharmaceuticals from the GDR valued at R120 million. This is 11 percent of all equipment and pharmaceuticals delivered by CEMA countries.

Waterstradt: Are there special medical tasks that require a particular concentration of forces and means?

Chasov: For us the field concerning mothers and children are particularly important. In our country we still have some problems in this respect, the solution of which we have, however, started to tackle. For this purpose we have allocated 40 percent of all financial means that are available to the USSR health sector. Through cooperation with the GDR we hope to be able to solve these tasks even better. In order to make more progress in this field the party has also made available some of its institutions for children's day care centers. [passage omitted]

Waterstradt: In a speech to the WHO you called the global disease AIDS one of the most topical problems. What is the situation like in the USSR

Chasov: The acquired immunodeficiency syndrome has not passed the Soviet Union by. Foreign tourists, students from other countries, and Soviet citizens who traveled abroad on official business brought the disease to our country. In 1981 the first cases of AIDS appeared in the United States. AIDS reached us 5 years later. However, for the Soviet Union AIDS is not yet a big problem.

Waterstradt: How many people suffer from AIDS and how many have been infected?

Chasov: We have about 14 acute cases and 300 infected people.

Waterstradt: In the field of AIDS research in your country, are you working on new drugs for chemotherapy, such as azidothymidine?

Chasov: The Soviet Union is working very intensively on fulfilling these tasks. In our country, too, like in other countries, azidothymidine is being used. It is the only drug that blocks the multiplication of the virus. The drug against AIDS, which we are researching, has now reached the experimental stage. It is also being tested clinically.

Waterstradt: Are there anonymous tests in the USSR?

Chasov: In Moscow, the Health Ministry's central scientific research institute for epidemiology is conducting anonymous testing. The institute's director is Valentin Ivanovich Pokropski, president of the Academy of Medical Sciences. In addition, there are about 100 such anonymous test facilities all over the Soviet Union. Anonymity is being preserved. About 1,000 such tests are carried out in Moscow very day.

Waterstradt: International cooperation is also necessary in connection with the AIDS problem. How do you see this?

Chasov: This was one of the topics we recently discussed with GDR scientists. Joint experiences, the exchange of experts, and joint investigations—also together with capitalist countries—are planned. Only with our joint forces, in cooperation with the entire world, can AIDS and other human diseases be overcome. The entire Soviet Union needs more education in this respect. Much more has yet to be done.

West Europe

Falin Expects 'Follow-Up Solution' on GDR Refugees

AU0410113389 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 4 Oct 89 p 3

["C.G." report: "Falin Expects a Follow-Up Solution in Prague"]

[Text] Bonn, 3 October—On Tuesday [3 October] Valentin Falin, head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, was in Bonn for discussions between a working group of the CPSU and the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD]. Concerning the situation of the GDR refugees in the FRG Embassy in Prague, he said that he had only heard that another 4,000 people had gathered there: "But if precedence plays a role, then we are justified in expecting that this unpleasant situation will also be solved in the optimum way." Asked about such a solution, Falin said: "It is near at hand; I hope that the best one will be selected from various modalities." The GDR is a sovereign state and does not need recommendations, he said.

SPD Deputy Bahr said that the exit of the refugees last weekend [30 September-1 October] did not come about because of Soviet influence. In the future, too, "the two German governments" have to deal with each other. However, the participation of the CSSR Government is necessary. Foreign Minister Genscher's talks with Shevardnadze in New York were logical because one has to have contacts with many partners: "This is helpful." However, the meetings with the Soviet foreign minister "have nothing to do with the fact that the actual authority lies in the hands of the two German governments, because only they can make binding agreements," Bahr said. Administrative solutions through technical precautions cannot last long. Bahr said that he cannot imagine an FRG Embassy rejecting people from the GDR. The question can "be solved only politically," if a repetition is to be ruled out. For this purpose, talks between the governments in Bonn and in East Berlin are necessary, "because this is the only way to find a solution which will hold and will be accepted by the people as credible and reliable."

Falin, who was Soviet ambassador to Bonn in the past and is considered Gorbachev's foreign policy adviser, added that the relations between the FRG and the GDR have not yet been normalized to the extent that "such complications" can be solved before the event. Nevertheless, special characteristics of the German situation do not rule out a normalization. Now a "political decision" is necessary "to find juridical and other regulations to at least keep an eye on such complications, which are not without effect on all of Europe, and to spare all people if possible."

Asked about Moscow's attitude toward the GDR, which is not wiling to carry out reforms, Falin says that there have always been some reforms in the GDR, too. However, Falin characterized the situation in the GDR in a critical way: "The dynamic development of society always needs renewal; difficulties always develop when the speed of renewal lags behind development." Every party, including the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, is sovereign in its decisions and acts in line with its own conditions. The Soviet party does not force anyone to accept its model, in particular so as not to repeat the mistakes of the past. President Gorbachev is preparing his visit to the GDR on 7 October "in full responsibility and with political tact." Asked whether the Soviet Union is aware of its responsibility for Germany as a whole in accordance with the decisions of the Potsdam conference, Falin answered: "Yes." Drawing a conclusion from the mass exodus from the GDR, Falin said: "I suppose that everyone will be wiser after the experiences of the past weeks; then the lesson has not been missed."

Falin assessed the talks with the SPD as a "constructive and creative discussion, which proves that cooperation is necessary and useful." Bahr announced that the joint working group of the parties, which was established at a meeting between SPD Chairman Vogel and Gorbachev in Moscow in April, is to meet again in March 1990. Until then experts are to present plans on how a "common legal area of Europe" can be established in such fields as the environment, energy, and the economy. The working group of the parties is to base its decisions on this at the spring meeting in Moscow. Bahr reported that on Tuesday Vogel assured Falin that the SPD's interest in a "stable development in central Europe" remains "unchanged and without reservations" in the same way it was expressed during Gorbachev's visit to Bonn in June.

FRG Role in Refugee Saga Seen Harming GDR Ties

PM0310135589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[May Podklyuchnikov article under the rubric "Correspondent Comments": "Who Is Complicating Relations"]

[Text] Berlin—For the past few weeks the FRG embassies in Prague and Warsaw have embarked on a path that has nothing to do with normal diplomacy. They have started granting asylum to GDR citizens wanting to emigrate to the FRG without the proper documents from

their country. Many people, including parents and their children, have been crowding into the two embassies.

This situation has not come about through the fault of the GDR; the responsibility for it lies wholly with Bonn. However, for humanitarian reasons, the GDR Government has taken part in the search for a way out of the deadlock. It has permitted those persons located in FRG embassies to be transported across GDR territory to the West in special trains. This was done on the night of 30 September-1 October. In this regard a representative of the GDR Foreign Ministry expressed hope that measures would be taken by the FRG to ensure the normal operation of its embassies in line with international regulations.

The events of recent days have again shown what serious complications in relations between the two German states can result from following the Bonn thesis about the "duty to care for all Germans," which rests on the illusory tenet of the existence of the "German Reich within its 1937 borders."

The West German mass media have long been conducting a raucous propaganda campaign imbued with a spirit of chauvinism and nationalism in connection with the GDR "refugees" saga. FRG politicians have been making unconcealed attempts to interfere in the sovereign GDR's internal affairs. All this is causing considerable damage to relations between the two German states.

The FRG's actions are typified by their patent shortsightedness. Calling into question everything positive that has been achieved through considerable effort in relations between the two German states, it is attacking stability in Central Europe, when stability is something that all our continent's peoples need.

It is quite obviously no accident that this major campaign of provocation against the GDR has been timed to coincide with the 40th anniversary of the German socialist state. However the GDR's opponents may try, though, they will not succeed in casting aspersions on the historic achievements of its working people or besmirching the immense importance of its jubilee.

Primakov Receives Schleswig-Holstein Premier

LD2909133789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "For Strengthening of Contacts"]

[Text] Ye.M. Primakov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, received on 26 September B. Engholm, chairman of the FRG Bundesrat and prime minister of Schleswig-Holstein.

The visitor was briefed on the activity, role, and functions of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the new conditions, the course of this fall's session of the country's supreme organ of state power, and the topical problems in Soviet society's life which are reflected in the session's work.

Attention was specifically drawn to the problem of conversion and the task of utilizing the intellectual and technical potential existing in the military production sphere with utmost efficiency for the national economy.

Speaking of the Soviet parliament's foreign policy activity, the chamber's chairman confirmed the USSR's desire, among other avenues [of activity], to create an all-European home.

We are following with great interest the processes of renewal in the USSR Supreme Soviet, B. Engholm said, and we perceive that it is now the center for the democratization of life in the country. We have great respect for these changes and persistently wish to strengthen bilateral interparliamentary contacts.

Having expressed support for the idea of an all-European home, the visitor noted that it implies inviolability of borders and respect for states' territorial integrity and sovereignty.

FRG Bundestag Debate on East-West Ties Cited

PM0410101589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "For Cooperation With Bonn"]

[Text] Bonn, 30 Sep—Representatives of the FRG's ruling parties and the biggest opposition party—the Social Democratic Party of Germany—have expressed themselves in support of the reforms which are being carried out in the USSR and the other socialist countries and the activation of economic cooperation with them.

Speaking during the debates in the Bundestag on economic relations between the countries of East and West, R. Funke, a representative of the faction of the Free Democratic Party, expressed himself in favor of active support for the process of reforms in the socialist countries. Thanks to this process, he noted, economic collaboration between the FRG and the CEMA countries has expanded considerably. In his opinion, the Western countries should open their markets more widely to goods from the CEMA countries and ensure that they are provided with the necessary technology. Economic cooperation, Funke stressed, is also designed to promote the consolidation of peace in Europe.

P. Kittelmann, a representative of the parliamentary faction of the Christian Democratic Union, also agreed with this. He urged West German industrialists to develop economic ties with the USSR and the other CEMA countries more actively, and in particular to take a broader part in training and improving the qualifications of Soviet managers and seeking partners for creating joint ventures.

The policy of the social democrats, aimed at developing political and economic cooperation between East and West, has proved correct, F. Gautier, representative of the Social Democratic Party of Germany parliamentary faction, pointed out. We are glad that now the U.S.

Administration, too, is turning from confrontation toward cooperation with the East. The Bundestag deputy demanded the elimination of restrictions on trade with the socialist countries, restrictions which do not accord with the spirit of the times.

UK Officers Visit Western Group of Forces

PM0210132389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Sep 89 First Edition p 3

["Our Correspondent" report: "Meeting in Wunstorf"]

[Text] General B. Kenny, commander of the British Army of the Rhine (BAOR), and Air Marshal R. Palin, commander in chief of the Royal Air Force in Germany, have paid an official visit to the Western Group of Forces [WGF].

At the end of the welcome ceremony, the BAOR commander was received by Army General B. Snetkov, commander in chief of the WGF. Air Marshal R. Palin was the guest of Lieutenant General of Aviation A. Tarasenko, commander of the WGF Air Force.

During a conversation with General B. Kenny, in which Lieutenant General V. Fursin, chief of staff of the WGF, and Major General F. Sugden, chief of staff of the BAOR, took part, Army General B. Snetkov dwelt on the essence of the defensive doctrine adopted by the Warsaw Pact countries and on the reorganizational changes taking place within the group's units. They expressed that the desire was to resume the traditional exchange of visits and discussed possibilities of more extensive contacts. General B. Kenny visited a base and a motorized rifle regiment training area, while Air Marshal R. Palin and his deputy, Air Vice Marshal P. Harding, visited the group Air Force headquarters and a military airfield. The generals and officers visited the WGF Museum of Combat Glory, laid flowers in the museum's Memorial Hall, and attended a concert given by a WGF song and dance ensemble.

Nishanov Leads Supreme Soviet Visit to Italy

Delegation Meets Chamber President

PM0310142389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Meetings Held"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, which is paying an official visit to Italy, met with Leonilde Iotti, president of the Chamber of Deputies, 27 September.

During the talks, which were held in a cordial atmosphere, there was an exchange of opinions regarding the activities of both countries' parliaments and questions facing the top legislative organs of the USSR and Italy. R.N. Nishanov spoke in detail of the work of the Second USSR Supreme Soviet Session. He emphasized that perestroyka has become a real factor having a direct impact on our perception of the world and on the practical steps in the international arena stemming from this. People in the Soviet Union have interpreted the modern world anew, understood its interconnected and integral nature, and realized the imperative need to pool the efforts of mankind for the sake of its preservation and its good today, tomorrow, and for all time. The USSR is ready to do everything to radically improve the world situation.

L. Iotti voiced the hope that the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation's visit would be very fruitful and would give a boost to the further development of contacts via both countries' parliamentary groups and the permanent commissions of the supreme legislative organs of Italy and the USSR. She emphasized the usefulness of such ties for comparing and exchanging opinions on the most urgent problems of Soviet-Italian relations and international politics as a whole.

N.M. Lunkov was present at the meeting.

Nishanov Calls on Parliamentarians

PM0310141189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit to Italy"]

[Text] Rome, 29 Sep—A conversation took place today between the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, which is making an official visit here, and members of the Italian Parliamentary Group's Italian-Soviet Section.

Senator Luciano Barca, chairman of the section, expressed satisfaction with the meetings taking place between parliamentarians. We support perestroyka, he said, as it also affects us: The new course adopted by the Soviet leadership has enabled considerable progress to be made toward achieving genuine peace.

On the Italian Parliamentary Group's behalf L. Barca expressed full support for the USSR Parliamentary Group's appeal to the world's parliamentarians for a chemical weapons ban. The Italian Parliamentary Group will be putting specific proposals and ideas on the document to the Interparliamentary Union.

The senator went on to say that Italy is actively preparing for M.S. Gorbachev's visit, which will undoubtedly serve to strengthen ties between our countries in all spheres.

For its part, the Soviet delegation leader rated highly the activity of the Italian Parliamentary Group's Italian-Soviet Section, which is making a substantial contribution to strengthening mutual trust and traditional friendship between the two countries and peoples. Relations between the USSR and Italy are building up good

momentum. The two countries' attitudes coincide or are close on a whole number of very important international questions.

On the same day the Soviet delegation met with members of the Chamber of Deputies Constitutional Committee and Regional Affairs Committee. Topics concerning national-state structure and the creation of the institutions of a law-governed state were discussed.

The Italian parliamentarians described the work of their constitutional court, which is the country's supreme judicial organ. Soviet delegation members, for their part, gave information on the procedure for creating the Constitutional Oversight Committee.

Delegation Tours Country

LD0410131889 Moscow TASS in English 0655 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Rome October 4 TASS—By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Tarakanov and Nikolay Teterin:

A USSR Supreme Soviet delegation, currently in Italy on an official visit and led by Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Council of Nationalities, returned to Rome on Tuesday after touring the country.

The delegation visited Florence, the administrative centre of Tuscany, where they had a number of meetings with regional government leaders and members of regional and municipal councils.

They talked to deputies and chairmen of the commissions and committees of local self-government legislative bodies. The Soviet parliamentarians described the work of the Supreme Soviet in the new conditions brought about by perestroka.

Their Italian counterparts acquainted the delegation with the work of local government bodies. An understanding on mutual cooperation was reached during the meetings. The two sides also agreed to develop contacts at the level of local government bodies.

The delegation toured the cities of Trento and Bolzano in Trentino-Alto-Adige which has special autonomous status and where the populaton consists of three ethnic groups.

Discussions of interethnic relations and their legislative regulation dominated meetings with the leaders of these areas.

The problems of relationships between central and local government bodies were also considered. The deputies of the regional council of Trentino-Alto-Adige showed much interest in interethnic problems in the Soviet Union and ways to tackle them.

The delegation members met Antoniko Maccanico, minister for regional affairs. The expansion of cooperation through the channels of central and local government bodies was touched upon upon during the friendly meeting which was also attended by Nikolay Lunkov, Soviet ambassador to Italy.

During the meetings Italian people showed much interest in Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to Italy.

Delegation Ends Visit

LD0410142389 Moscow TASS in English 1356 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Rome October 4 TASS—A USSR Supreme Soviet delegation led by Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Council of Nationalities, left Rome today at the close of an official visit to Italy at the invitation of the Italian parliament.

The delegation was received by Italian President Francesco Cossiga and Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti, met Leonilde Jotti, president of the Chamber of Deputies, and Giovanni Spadolini, president of the Senate, had talks in the top legislative body of Italy, and toured the country. During the tour they met local government leaders.

Turkish Health Minister on Contacts, Exports

TA0310201389 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1800 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Health Minister Halil Sivgin, currently on an official visit to the Soviet Union, has concluded his contacts. In a statement he made to Turkish Radio and Television, Sivgin said that next year, Turkey will export pharmaceutical products worth about $100 million to the Soviet Union.

He continued: We know that the USSR is planning to import a great amount of medicines. We have made efforts for our big pharmaceutical industries to take advantage of this situation within the framework of the loan our government extended to the USSR. As a result, we have obtained the possibility of exporting medicines worth up to $100 million next year. The problem of payment for these goods will be finalized during a meeting to be held in mid-October.

We are also interested in the construction of new hospitals in the USSR within the framework of the declared reforms in the medical field. Our businessmen and construction firms can play an important role in this field, he said, adding that another possibility for our businessmen is the important potential to export medical equipment and tools needed in certain health centers to be built in the USSR.

Moreover, conferences and congresses will be held to provide an exchange of medical personnel and create close coordination between Soviet and Turkish physicians. This will diversify the fields in which we have a

relationship and strengthen cooperation in the field of medicine between the two neighboring countries, he concluded.

Turkish Communist Spokesman on Party's Aims

PM0210104189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with Onder Gezgin, member of the Turkish United Communist Party Central Committee, by V. Khovratovich: "The Voice of the Turkish Communists"]

[Text] Four members of the Turkish United Communist Party [TUCP] Central Committee have returned home after many years in exile. They include Erdal Talu, member of the party Central Committee Politburo. They were accompanied by prominent public figures and lawyers from a number of West European states. Immediately on their arrival at Istanbul Airport they were taken into custody by Turkish security officers. The political exiles were greeted by members of the country's democratic public and parliamentary deputies from the social democratic populist party.

The TUCP Central Committee made the decision to bring back all its members from exile because the party wants to operate in legal conditions and contribute to the democratization process in the country. On the eve of this event we asked TUCP Central Committee member Onder Gezgin [name as published] to talk about the party's life and activities. Since the mid-eighties, he said, largely owing to the Soviet policy of glasnost and perestroyka, and also as a result of the struggle for peace and disarmament associated with that process, the world situation has changed greatly for the better. It has become clear that new methods are needed in our long struggle for democratization in Turkey and for the legalization of the Communist Party. The uniting of the Turkish Labor Party and Turkish Communist Party into one party, the TUCP, was thus the first step on this road. This was followed by a decision to bring Nihat Sargin, our party's general chairman, and Haydar Kutlu, party general secretary, back to the country.

A key question in the struggle for the democratization of Turkish society is the lifting of the ban on Communist Party activity. And the number of those who appreciate this and are supporting us in every way is increasing daily. This is confirmed by this year's May Day demonstration, which was attended by tens of thousands of people. Youth and women's movements are becoming increasingly influential. Certain Turkish business circles are also in favor of the legalization of our party. We have the backing of world public opinion. For example, the European Parliament has adopted several resolutions on the need to legalize our party and on the immediate release of Comrades Kutlu and Sargin.

Seven decades operating underground have, of course, affected the state of our party. Indeed, it is no secret that propaganda of anticommunism and the "Soviet threat" have been state policy for many years in my homeland. Thousands of political activists from the entire Turkish left-wing movement are in exile.

The return of Comrades Kutlu and Sargin to Turkey, Onder Gezgin continued, was the most significant step in the communist movement in our country in recent years. One might say it was a turning point. They returned knowing that they would be arrested. In the 18 months and more of the trial they have not retreated an inch from their beliefs. Each session in court becomes a kind of trial of the antidemocratic regime in Turkey. From the very start of the trial the democratic press all over the world has supported our comrades. The course of the trial shows that there have been unwarranted delays. What it needs to bring it to an end is a political solution—that is, final, official authorization to legalize the Communist Party.

Comrades Kutlu and Haydar have been kept in jail for around 2 years. During this time they secured certain rights. For example, they are allowed to write articles for newspapers and journals and exchange congratulatory letters and postcards. They receive regular visits from lawyers and relatives—which keeps them abreast of events. But it is a matter of halting the judicial tyranny and restoring democracy that has been grossly abused.

Turkey has many problems, my interlocutor said in reply to a question about the situation in his country. It has unemployment, inflation, a very high cost of living, a mounting foreign debt, the Kurdish problem, and, why deny it, the problem of the Turks from Bulgaria. But I would put democratization and the safeguarding of human rights at the top of the list. Unless these two problems are solved, the rest will never be solved. But one must not think that all the issues we face will disappear with the party's legalization. The struggle for genuine democracy in the country will be a long one. The presidential election, which takes place at the beginning of November, is on the agenda for all Turkish democratic forces. It is not impossible that there will be early parliamentary elections in the very near future. I believe that the free voice of the Turkish Communists must be heard in them.

Latin America & Caribbean

Shevardnadze Talks With Ortega, Meets Castro

Shevardnadze on Talks With Ortega

LD0510081789 Moscow TASS in English 0759 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Managua October 5 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Dmitriyev and Igor Pshenichnikov:

The consolidation of peace in Nicaragua was high on the agenda of talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega. Shevardnadze said at a news conference on Wednesday after the talks.

He said that the USSR and Nicaragua have established a very fruitful and constructive political dialogue which revealed similar approaches to most world problems. This was promoted by regular contacts between President Mikhail Gorbachev and Daniel Ortega and constant consultations between the foreign offices.

Nicaragua is now pulling out of the war imposed on it and is approaching elections, Shevardnadze said. "We are sure that, at long last, peace will come to Nicaragua. We have to streamline our economic exchanges in an appropriate way in order to reorient them mostly to the country's social and economic development." On agreement with the Nicaraguan leadership, Shevardnadze noted, the Soviet Union temporarily suspended arms supplies to the Nicaraguan Government. It now faces other problems, and it has some other needs.

"Therefore, we gave much attention at our talks to the fact that the Soviet Union could now respond to the new requirements of Nicaragua. We arrived at a full understanding on the entire range of questions."

"On the eve of our trip to the United States for talks with President George Bush and Secretary of State James Baker, we exchanged opinions with our Nicaraguan friends concerning the development of the situation in Central America."

"We held talks in the United States, mindful of the opinion of our Nicaraguan friends. Discussions in the United States were useful on the whole. We got an impression that the consistent, flexible and constructive policy of Nicaragua for a political settlement is a sound argument."

"We are in agreement with our Nicaraguan friends that the five Central American states should hold talks on the outstanding questions of cooperation in Central America, which concern security, verification and control, as is provided for by the Guatemalan Agreement."

"We share the opinion on the need to establish a permanent negotiating mechanism to examine the levels of armed forces and armaments in the countries of the region, dismantle foreign military bases here and withdraw foreign military advisers as well as drafting strict and all-embracing measures of confidence and control over the obligations of the sides."

Stability in the region necessitates the maintenance of the balance of forces, under which each Central American country would have armed forces sufficient only for its defence.

"It seems to me," Shevardnadze went on to say, "that in this question the USSR and the United States could assist the countries of the region in defining the notion of sufficiency and, what is the main thing, in observance of possible future understandings. There is also a possibility that the two powers could act as a guarantor of a regional agreement on the balance of forces."

"We believe," the minister noted, "that the time is now ripe for the Soviet Union to establish diplomatic relations with all Central American countries. We are ready to do so with each country if it so wishes."

"During our talks with Ortega, we discussed the Panama situation and expressed our firm opposition to any interference in the domestic affairs of that country in any form, no matter wherefrom it emanates," Shevardnadze noted.

Talks Have 'Great Significance'

LD0410202789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Oct 89

[From the "International Diary" program]

[Text] In Nicaragua there have been talks between USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Shevardnadze and the Nicaraguan leader. Shevardnadze arrived in Managua Tuesday on a working visit.

Comrade Shevardnadze noted that great significance is attached to our talks since they are taking place at a very responsible stage when, thanks to prospects which have opened up today, the Nicaraguan revolution is entering a period of peaceful development. Comrade Shevardnadze added that the Soviet Union would like to make its contribution to that historic matter.

Greeting Comrade Shevardnadze, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega noted that the talks in Nicaragua will contribute to the struggle for peace which the Soviet Union is waging in the international arena and to Nicaragua's struggle for peace in Central America. Comrade Shevardnadze completed his visit to Nicaragua Today. The next stop on his trip is Havana.

Shevardnadze Departs for Cuba

LD0410225889 Moscow TASS in English 2245 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Managua October 5 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who is also member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, left Nicaragua, where he had been on a working visit, for Cuba on Wednesday.

At the Managua International Airport, he was seen off by Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, foreign minister Manuel D'Escoto and other Nicaraguan leaders.

Shevardnadze Arrives in Havana

LD0510015189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0123 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Havana, 5 Oct (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politbureau, USSR minister of foreign affairs, arrived on Wednesday evening in Cuba on a short working visit.

He was met at the Jose Marti International Airport by Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, member of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the State Council and of the Republic's Council of Ministers, and by Jose Raul Viera, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of Cuba.

Among those who met him were Julio Camacho Aguilera, member of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, ambassador of the Republic of Cuba in the USSR, and Yu.V. Petrov, USSR ambassador in Cuba.

Shevardnadze Meets With Castro

LD0510032689 Moscow TASS International in Russian 0258 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Havana, 5 Oct (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politbureau, USSR minister of foreign affairs, arrived on Wednesday evening in Cuba on a short working visit. [passage omitted]

E.A. Shevardnadze and Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee, chairman of the State Council and Council of Ministers of the republic, met and entered into an exchange of opinions on questions of mutual interest.

Last Cuban Troops From Ethiopia Arrive Home

LD0410221589 Moscow TASS in English 2158 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Havana October 5 TASS—The Soviet passenger ship "Ivan Franko" delivered the last group of Cuban troops from Ethiopia here Wednesday morning.

The 729 soldiers and officers were warmly greeted by the leaders of the Cuban Communist Party, senior officers of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, and the public.

The withdrawal of Cuban troops from Ethiopia, brought into the country in April 1977 at the Ethiopian Government's request, began last month under an agreement between the two countries.

It became possible due to the favourable conditions created in Ethiopia for putting an end to outside threats and aggressions.

Before the Soviet ship reached Cuba, representatives of the Cuban Armed Forces, the National Revolutionary Police, the State Committee for Labour and Social Security, the Ministry of Construction and other departments, responsible for the priority provision of all retiring troops with jobs, had been delivered on its board.

Panama Alleges U.S. Army Role in Abortive Coup

LD0410121489 Moscow TASS in English 1120 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Panama City October 4 TASS—The Panamanian Government has issued a government communique on the latest events in the country. The documents say that prompt action of the National Defence Force, loyal to the military and civilian leadership, helped thwart a coup attempt staged by a group of officers.

The communique described the current situation in Panama as generally calm.

The Panamanian Government has urged the people to keep order and display vigilance and responsibility to prevent any possible actions which may damage Panama's security.

The Panamanian Ministry of the Interior is imposing a curfew in Panama and the government will curb any actions aimed at disrupting public order in strict compliance with the national Constitution and state laws.

Panamanian Vice-President Carlos Ozores addressed the people assuring them that the situation in Panama was under control. According to him, the U.S. interventionist plan against Panama's sovereignty and independence was foiled. On behalf of the Panamanian leadership, Ozores called on the Panamanians to remain calm and continue normal working lives.

Chairman of the Panamanian ruling Revolutionary Party Carlos Duque stressed the need to strengthen the unity of all patriotic forces to protect the country's sovereignty and freedom in this difficult time.

The local television broadcast a statement of the National Defence Force in which it sums up the first results of the investigation into yesterday's coup attempt.

The document said that the rebels had taken advantage of the president's absence and tried to remove the NDF leadership. They acted in close contact with the United States Army South Command (USARCO) whose tanks blocked off the location of the Panamanian naval forces, military police, special troops to combat terrorism and several army battalions early in the morning.

The revolt was suppressed by the battalions "2000" and Macho de Monte, the Puma and Tiger companies and special NDF detachments and other units between 08.00 and 15.00 local time. The rebels laid down their arms and surrendered personally to General Noriega.

The commanders of all military zones have confirmed their loyalty to the NDF leadership and the provisional government.

TASS Cites Baker on U.S. 'Option' in Panama

LD0510003489 Moscow TASS in English 2323 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Washington October 5 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker stated on Wednesday that the United States reserved the right to use military force against Panama.

"The United States retains the option to use American forces. That option has never been ruled out," he said testifying before the Senate finance committee.

"But if you are going to risk American lives, it's the president's view that you do so in your own timetable—you do so on your own plans. At a time of maximum opportunity and advantage," Baker said.

He made it clear that the United States had not got directly involved in the coup attempt on Tuesday because the rebels had little chance of winning.

Presenting the administration's stance with regard to Panama, Baker once again referred to the country's government as "an illegitimate regime" and stated that the United States would continue pressure against General Manuel Noriega, commander-in-chief of Panama's National Defence Forces, to make him resign.

"Our policy has been to apply relentless pressure on the Noriega regime. Across the border—diplomatically, economically and to defend American lives and United States rights under our Panama Canal treaties," Baker said.

Panamanian Newspapers Cited on Coup Attempt

LD0410234989 Moscow TASS in English 2312 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Panama October 5 TASS—By TASS correspondents Eldar Abdullayev and Aleksandr Chernov:

The largest Panamanian newspaper ESTRELLA DE PANAMA published the names of the officers who headed the coup attempt on Tuesday in the central barracks of the country's National Defence Forces.

The author of the publication states that the insurrection was headed by Major Moises Hiraldi and Captains Egardo Sandoval and Javier Licona.

There has been no official confirmation from the National Defence Forces press service so far. The number of insurrection supporters has not been disclosed either.

The newspaper reported that two of the insurrection participants have found refuge at the Clayton base of the U.S. Southern Command forces.

According to data at the disposal of the newspaper CRITICA, a shoot-out between pro-Noriega forces and the rebels left six people killed, including the insurrection leader.

Among the wounded is Lieutenant-Colonel Nivaldo Madrinan Aponte, member of the National Defence Forces headquarters and head of the National Investigation Agency.

Practically all the newspapers which appeared on Wednesday published telegrams from different regions and provinces of the country expressing the loyalty of local authorities, military leaders and representatives of public organizations to the present government and the military leadership of the country and denouncing "wrathfully the treacherous actions of the rebels".

Supreme Soviet Session

28 Sep Committee, Commission Debates Reported

PM0410111989 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 30 Sep 89 p 1

[Unnamed TASS correspondents report: "At the USSR Supreme Soviet Committees and Commissions: There Are No Unequivocal Answers"]

[Excerpts] Debates continued 28 September at the committees and commissions in the USSR's supreme organ of state power. The people's deputies discussed the questions on the agenda of the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. A report on this by TASS parliamentary correspondents follows.

Representatives of the USSR State Planning Committee, the Ministry of jFinance, and the Ministry of Health provided a realistic assessment of the situation in the health service at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for the Protection of the People's Health. The session was devoted to an examination of the draft USSR State Plan and State Budget for 1990. Judging from the reaction of the committee members, they were not at all satisfied with the size of the budget appropriations for this vitally important sphere—R26.7 billion.

We need R80 billion, Yu.I. Borodin, chairman of the committee, said in a conversation with a TASS correspondent, in order to radically change the situation with regard to the medical service. While we are perfectly well aware that in our country's complex economic situation such a sum cannot be found, we will all the same insist on an additional top-up of R3-5 billion in 1990 to the funds allocated for public health.

Medics are grateful to the government for the allocation of 500 million foreign currency rubles for the procurement of imported medicines, committee member N.N. Pribylova said, entering into the conversation. Contracts worth R440 million have already been concluded, which will enable our demand for various medicines to be met 90-95 percent. [passage omitted].

A keen debate also blew up at the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Economic Reform Questions, where deputies embarked on discussing the Draft Fundamentals of Land Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics.

It was stressed at the session that the Law on Land is closely linked with the Law on Ownership in the USSR. That is why—as when discussing various versions of the Law on Ownership—deputies began their work today by defining how far the concept of the law accords with the demands of the new phase of the economic reform in the country rather than by studying individual articles of the document.

The well-known expert economist V.A. Tikhonov subjected the government's draft law to serious criticism. The deputy stressed that the main question must be resolved first of all: Should we logically embark on land reform or simply adapt the new concepts to the old norms?

The idea that substantial additional work is needed on this draft law was heard on several occasions. The opinion was also heard that an alternative version of the Fundamentals of Land Legislation may be drafted.

Further on 28 Sep Discussions

PM0310131589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Sep 89 First Edition p 1

[Report by TASS correspondents V. Bezbrezhnyy, S. Vozianov, A. Dzyublo, S. Zharkov, V. Isachenkov, and V. Kiosa under the rubric "In USSR Supreme Soviet Committees and Commissions": "No Simple Answers"]

[Text] The discussion in the committees and commissions of the supreme organ of state power of the USSR continued 28 September. The people's deputies discussed questions included on the agenda of the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The final point on the present session's agenda was assigned to urgent measures for the country's ecological recovery. We venture to suggest that that does not mean examining this question at the very last moment. But in the corridors the following forecast was heard: We will hardly succeed in covering the entire agenda in the allotted time, something will have to be carried over to the spring. We think that this factor (a kind of "residual syndrome") could not fail to affect the tone and pace of the discussion, in the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of the Ecology and the Rational Use of Natural Resources, of the indicators of the country's draft plan and budget for next year. Analyzing these documents, the deputies are focusing attention on urgent nature conservation problems which in their opinion must be resolved within a planned procedure.

That is why the discussion of the report delivered by P.I. Poletayev, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Protection of the Environment. It must be said that the speaker himself, representing a government nature conservation department which was created recently and has essentially not yet given shape to its functions, provided grounds for this. For most of the 30 minutes assigned him according to the regulations, he was unable to focus on the constructive proposals within the mainstream of the sitting agenda. It is not surprising that the questions put to him even included the following (it was put by People's Deputy B.V. Dadamyan): What is the State Committee for the Protection of the Environment's system actually doing at all if it is taking no part in the elaboration of the ecological section of the year's plan and only sporadically undertakes appraisals of projects?

You can understand this mood in the discussion of the documents submitted by the government, a mood determined, incidentally, the day before during the discussion

of the reports of the USSR State Planning Committee and Ministry of Finance: Despite the fact that the quota for nature conservation measures in the country has now been increased 19 percent (which of itself is unprecedented), in money terms the sum is not that large. Hence the parliamentarians' close attention to its rational use.

The first results have been achieved by the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission for the Examination of the Privileges Enjoyed by Individual Categories of Citizens. At the deputies' recommendation the children's polyclinic of the USSR Health Ministry Fourth Main Administration is being handed over for public use. This was announced by Ye.M. Primakov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Soviet of the Union and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

The sitting decided to structure the commission's work in several directions: health care, the provision of sanatoriums and resorts, trade, transport, consumer services, culture, housing, and pensions. In accordance with these sectors of work subcommissions have been organized which are engaging in the collection and analysis of information.

The speeches stressed that the commission's task is to elaborate specific recommendations and to differentiate clearly between what are justified and unjustified, legal and illegal privileges, but "not to supplant the investigation organs."

The repeal of censorship and the right of all state and public organizations and other associations and of individual citizens to set up mass media is envisaged by the law on the press and other mass media discussed today at the sitting of the Supreme Soviet Committee on Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order. The draft was prepared by a working group consisting of representatives of three parliamentary committees.

B.N. Nikolskiy, deputy chairman of the Committee for Questions of Glasnost and Citizens' Rights and Appeals, noted that the draft law is a substantial contribution to the deepening of democratization and glasnost and the formation of a socialist rule-of-law state. At the same time the opinion was also voiced at the sittings that the document is imperfect from the legal viewpoint. For instance, Deputy A.A. Sobchak, while fully agreeing with the concept of the law, voiced several complaints regarding its specific formulations. S.B. Stankevich suggested that the draft consider in more detail the realities of the present situation in the country and that in particular clauses be introduced to it on the press organs established by the soviets of people's deputies. A.Ye. Sebentsov disagreed with this, believing that excessive details in the draft law and the inclusion of related fields in it will make the document worse.

It was decided to suggest that the draft be published as a preliminary in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA and the journal ZHURNALIST for the public to be acquainted with it more extensively. After the formulations giving rise to disagreements have been worked on, it has been decided to submit the draft law to a Supreme Soviet session for discussion in its first reading if its strenuous work schedule permits.

Another legal act which is being examined today at a sitting of the Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order—the draft law on the procedure for resolving collective labor disputes (conflicts)—has already been discussed by the Supreme Soviet in its first reading at the summer session. Since then the Soviet of the Union Commission for Questions of Labor, Prices, and Social Policy with the participation of all interested deputies has made a number of alterations to it. In particular, in defining the sides in a labor conflict mention is made of the strike committee, which was not mentioned in the initial version of the draft law. The period for the conciliation procedure for resolving the conflict has also been reduced. It has been stipulated that only the supreme organs of legislative power—the USSR Supreme Soviet and the union republics' Supreme Soviets—have the right to suspend or ban a strike and not the local soviets and executive organs, as stated previously.

At the same time no agreement was reached on a number of the draft's provisions. For instance, the list of sectors in which strikes are banned was not successfully agreed. The committee sitting decided in principle to approve the draft and to submit it Tuesday 3 October to the Supreme Soviet for a second reading with alternative formulations.

Will the USSR budget for 1990 proposed by the government be able to halt the growth of negative tendencies in the Soviet economy—this question was the focus of the keen discussion today in the hall of sessions of the Soviet parliament's chambers. Taking part were members of the Soviet of the Union's Planning and Budget and Finance Commission and representatives of other permanent organs of the USSR Supreme Soviet engaged in economic questions.

V.G. Panskov, USSR first deputy minister of finance, delivered a justification of the main proportions of the draft budget submitted to parliament by the country's government. Stressing that the document reflects the state of the Soviet economy, he noted in particular that one of the main tasks in elaborating the drafts was to achieve a reduction of the budget deficit. The speaker recalled that in early 1989 the deficit was R120.8 billion, but by the end of the year that figure had been reduced to R92 billion.

The first deputy minister cited the reduction of state expenditure as the most realistic means of reducing the deficit. He noted that just by reducing expenditure on capital investments and defense R28.4 billion have been successfully saved. The budget will receive a further R3 billion by increasing diesel fuel prices 130 percent, with a consideration for compensating its biggest consumers.

V.G. Panskov spent over 2 hours answering the deputies' most diverse questions. His thorough replies, backed up

by numerous figures, were nonetheless unable fully to convince many parliamentarians. Thus Deputy A.K. Orlov believes that the draft budget is of a risky nature. In his opinion there are so far no guarantees that all investments in the social sphere will be fully assimilated. The deputy is also worried by the enormous sum—R100 billion—of subsidies to cover the difference in prices for agricultural output. A.K. Orlov believes that the chief attention should be paid to the effectiveness of investments in the agroindustrial complex and not to increasing subsidies for it.

"The draft budget proposed by the government complies in its basic indicators with the instructions of the Congress of People's Deputies," V.G. Kucherenko, chairman of the Planning and Budget and Finance Commission, noted in a talk with a TASS correspondent. "But some of these document's provisions require more work more than anything. We must be absolutely sure that the plan and the budget for 1990 are feasible. That is our commission's firm position."

How much money is needed for public education? As much as is required by its present-day needs and the interests of its development. That is the ideal. But in reality, given the shortage funds, the state is providing tangibly less.

Stating this at the sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Science, Public Education, Culture, and Upbringing, G.A. Yagodin, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Public Education, disagreed with the claim in the report on the State Budget for next year that the education budget is planned "by proceeding from the tasks which face education, from what must be done in accordance with the concept for its development." That is not so, he said.

The talk about funds took place at the sitting of the committee within the framework of discussion of the country's plan and budget for 1990. The speaker's main idea was that unless the priority of education is firmly established in the public awareness our country will lag even more seriously behind the developed countries of the West. In other words it is essential to provide for more money.

You can't argue. After all it is true that it is essential. Enough has already been said about the plight of our schools. Nor did the speaker avoid lists of needs or painful comparisons with the United States. But you might expect him, alongside the—righteous!—indignation to make a constructive call to take a look round. You can make demands on the state but you must not slip up yourself, you must seek reserves, as they see. Actually, the talk has not ended. The discussion of the subject is continuing.

Commission Views Transport Failings

PM0310133389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 29 Sep 89 Second Edition p 1

[S. Karkhanin report under the rubric "Debates in the Kremlin. A Political Observer's Notes": "Barrier Across the Blind Alley"]

[Text] On Wednesday and Thursday [27-28 September] the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers' commissions and committees working in the Kremlin and the "Moskva" Hotel continued discussion of the drafts of the State Plan and Budget for 1990. These debates were directly connected with today's problems in sectors of the national economy and in social policy. An example of this is the complex of questions connected with the long-term development of transportation. Now, on the threshold of winter, this is perhaps causing the greatest anxiety.

The ultimatum was like a bolt from the blue. The strike committee, which, as it turned out, had already been formed in the Moscow Subway collective, is discussing the possibility of putting forward a "package" of demands. They include this one—to almost double drivers' pay, that is, to raise it to R900 a month. Otherwise, the initiators of the ultimatum unequivocally hinted, trains might stop. One main reason was mentioned—the disparity between the pay of those employed on the regular railway and those on the subway.

"This is not logical," V. Tetenov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union's Transportation, Communications, and Information Technology Commission, is convinced. "After all, the conditions of work are completely different. Generally speaking, we have here another example of group selfishness. Although every conflict like this, if it is expressed in a strike, is a heavy blow to the whole country's national economy."

Fact. The difference between the planned and the actual transportation of freight because of stoppages on the railway between January and August reached 40 million tonnes. In ports at the moment there are a million tonnes of freight awaiting handling, including grain, rice, tea, and coffee. Recipients have failed to receive over 380,000 tonnes of consumer goods.

The deputies' commission on transportation questions is talking right now against the background of these alarming statistics. Of course, it will be possible to eliminate the consequences of the strikes. Compromises will be reached at the talks with those who are at present only threatening to stop the trains. But how can we make sure that there are no such conflicts in the future? The answer is clear: Careful and thorough study of the drafts of the country's plan and budget for 1990 is necessary. And together with representatives of the State Planning Committee [Gosplan], the Ministry of Finance, and the transportation ministries, the people's deputies will analyze the material presented by the government.

It is already clear how unfounded are the hopes are of putting matters to rights by using "universal" recipes.

The idea of economizing resources by mothballing production construction is tempting, but, as it has proved, is by no means universally applicable. R100 million would be needed to halt construction projects on the Amur-Yakutsk mainline, but the same sum of money is necessary to finish the work. What is more advantageous? Particularly since there are a number of other facilities that the railway cannot function without. So that means that work cannot be stopped at such construction sites. Deputies are being attracted to the idea of raising freight shipment charges and directing part of the resources received to finance urgent construction.

It is well known that in the last few decades railway workers have lost many privileges. In the deputies' opinion, this is the indirect reason for a whole range of labor conflicts. That is why the commission, having received information from the Ministry of Railways about modernization prospects for the railways for 1990 without a section on the social sphere, returned the document for revision. And V. Yarin, a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet from Nizhniy Tagil, is demanding insistently that deputies be given precise figures for the proportion of resources obtained from increasing freight charges that will be allocated to reducing the manual labor of transport workers, particularly women, employed in track maintenance.

Fact. To ensure stable and normal work, railroad transport must have a reserve of approximately 30 percent of its throughput and processing capacity. Because of the lack of such a reserve, our country's national economy is losing R10-12 billion a year.

G. Fadeyev, deputy minister of railways, mentioned this imposing figure for the first time, it appears, at the commission session. It was reaffirmed how "economizing on little things" and how an ill-conceived capital investment strategy are both wasteful.

Turbulent debates flared up at the sittings between representatives of Gosplan and the ministries, while the deputies insistently tried to discover the truth. Thus it came to light that the already complex situation in Aeroflot may become even more strained. Airport announcements "Flight delayed for technical reasons" are usually connected with a shortage of aviation fuel. What can passengers expect in the coming year? It turns out that the Ministry of Civil Aviation's application for aviation kerosene has been reduced because chemical plants are planning to put part of their output on open sale—or in other words, send it abroad in exchange for manufactured goods.

Fact. The unfulfilled demand for passenger flights on Aeroflot is now estimated at 17 million people. It will increase by another 5 million if the reduced state order for fuel proposed by Gosplan is confirmed.

Should the chemical plants' state order for aviation kerosene be increased to 100 percent, depriving them of even the smallest "degree of freedom"? But then how would that correspond to the Law on the State Enterprise? It is not out of the question that the Ministry of Civil Aviation has other possibilities for solving the problem—for example, with the assistance of direct contracts with the ministries interested in regular [vakhtovoy] air shipments. The participants in the session are looking for a way out together. It is still too early to say what that way out will be. But it is already clear that the deputies will give the utmost consideration to all the reasons for and against.

Large-scale labor conflicts have not occurred in the civil aviation system, but of course this does not mean that the sector's future is cloudless and that fuel is the only problem. Incidentally, as the deputies are noting, the fuel shortage itself is in many ways caused by the shortage of aircraft with economical engines. True, according to V. Ivanov, deputy minister of the aviation industry, as a result of conversion the output of Yak-42 and Tu-154M airliners will be sharply increased as of 1991. From 1990 the sale of the Tu-154M abroad will end and this aircraft, which fully conforms to world standards, will join the Aeroflot fleet. And yet there are many difficulties.

V. Voskoboynikov, deputy chairman of the commission, is a pilot by profession and a former aircraft designer. The braking mechanism which hinders the fast output of new types of aircraft is well known to him. Why do we still not see Tu-204 and Il-96 airliners, which conform to world standards in all parameters, on our air routes? Does the Ministry of Aviation Industry finally intend to start modernizing agricultural aircraft, if the 14-year-duration tests of the An-3 have indeed not, it would seem, produced the desired result? The questions of Voskoboynikov and other deputies are closely linked with the drafts of the plan and budget for the upcoming year, because they clarify and substantiate the transport sectors' renewal program. Without such analysis it is impossible to "give the OK" to expenditure out of the budget, particularly if every ruble is being taken into account, while any mistake may result in the sparks of new social conflicts.

However, the deputies are not planning to restrict themselves to talk alone. Already the idea is being mooted of a commission trip to enterprises which are failing to deliver transportation equipment. In order to see everything with their own eyes, study the documents, and talk with the specialists and workers... Then, maybe, we will finally get things moving—for example, obtain cars and replace rails and ties that are no longer serviceable.

It is clear that a barrier is needed across the strike path which is leading us into a blind alley. And this means that ripening conflicts must be defused earlier and without wasting time. A topic of increasingly active discussion is the idea of committees for transportation affairs which could be formed in the localities to deal promptly with any particular shortcomings in its work, and to help people employed in the sphere with their urgent needs. Of course, such committees, if they are formed, will be able to act only under the leadership of

the soviets. Whatever happens, decisive and nonstandard measures are necessary—we can scarcely do without them. The deputies are thinking and debating. The commission is continuing to work.

2 Oct Discussion on Ownership Laws Reported

PM0410111589 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 3 Oct 89 pp 1,3

[TASS report: "Draft Laws On the Agenda; TASS Parliamentary Correspondents Report From the Kremlin"]

[Text] The package of the five basic draft laws—on ownership, land, leasing, a single tax system, and the socialist enterprise—must be the basis of the new stage of radical economic reform in the country. It was presented by the government for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet session, which continued its work 2 October in the Kremlin.

Chairman M.S. Gorbachev asked N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to deliver the report on this question. (The report is being published in the press).

After the report was delivered the chairman reported that the proposed drafts are subject to examination in the committees and commissions followed by a discussion in the Supreme Soviet session. But because the documents had been distributed in advance and the discussions had already taken place, some deputies asked the presidium to give them the floor to express the viewpoint of the committees and commissions on these draft laws.

The deputies accepted this proposal.

The speakers were united in the opinion that the adoption of the draft laws presented today will determine the further development of radical economic reform and will eliminate the tension in society. They are all connected, and none of them can be examined in isolation from each other. Practice shows that the predominant draft law is the Law on Ownership in the USSR. This is a kind of blueprint to be applied to all the subsequent laws, and not only to those from the proposed set.

Recognizing the vital importance of the abovementioned draft laws, many deputies gave up parliamentary holidays due to them and worked on them between the first and second sessions. For society has already restricted the time for the debates. Deputy V.M. Vologzhin, chairman of the Committee for Questions of Economic Reform, said there had been proposals to their committee not only from deputies but also from production and scientific collectives, particularly from the association of Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic industrial enterprises, the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Soviet State Building and Legislation, and the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute. The participants in the discussion believe that with a variety of forms of ownership socialist society must represent an association of free and independent labor collectives and family farms on the basis of socialist ownership. The task set by the committee is to consolidate all opinions and proposals, which are sometimes diametrically opposed, into a single draft law. The first version, particularly of such a complex document, cannot be accepted right away by everyone. This is no reason to get upset.

The speech by Deputy S.S. Alekseyev, chairman of the Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, was constructive. Stressing that the package of documents must be permeated with a united spirit and united principles, he formulated the most important of them. As a result of the new laws collectives of working people must find genuine economic independence and obtain economic power over the means of production. Suffice it to repeat that the collectives must have a sense of ownership, they simply must become owners. They say that owners do not strike, and I would say, the speaker continued, something else: Owners do not work badly in normal economic conditions. And this is the key to solving our very difficult economic, social, and all other tasks.

Will the laws be effective? Deputy A.A. Sobchak, another spokesman for the Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, also tried to answer this most important question. He stressed that without subordinate legislation the draft laws presented by the Council of Ministers cannot be applied, but with help from Council of Ministers' instructions and resolutions they can be applied in such a way that nothing will change at all in the national economy. So, he said, the drafts need to be modified, possibly by joint cooperation between the USSR Council of Ministers and the Supreme Soviet committees and commissions.

The speaker criticized the continuing immutable notion of ownership enshrined in the Constitution. The economic base is socialist ownership, primarily state, then collective and only then, somewhere at the end—citizens' ownership which is secondary, supplementary, and consumerist in character. The speaker proposed a different path for consolidating ownership relations—not on the basis of the state, but on the basis of the person. Both the state and the collective—all these are secondary formations, he stressed. It is precisely citizens' property which must be consolidated in the first instance and be provided with appropriate protection.

Deputy P.G. Bunich, deputy chairman of the Committee for Questions of Economic Reform, called for a switch from emergency measures, which provide tactical gain through strategic loss, to normal measures. He drew attention to the internal contradictions in the draft laws package. In particular, to the absence in the draft Law on Ownership of the concept of collective ownership, unsolved questions of multiple taxation, delegation of supply [pravopreyemnosti snabzheniya], the possible emergence of unemployment, problems of pricing, insurance, and others. The speaker also stressed that the implementation of these laws must be simultaneous. If

enterprises are switched to leasing without being taxed, without the land being assessed economically, this will not constitute proper leasing. If they make the same payments into the budget as before, then basically the wages fund and the development fund will be authorized from above. This also affects enterprises which do not need to either lease or buy out fixed capital since they themselves have created their own.

No democratization of society or economic transformations will lead to success without further progress in the sphere of culture and the development of science and education in our society, Deputy S.M. Ryabchenko, chairman of the Committee For Science, Public Education, Culture and Upbringing, joined in the discussion. For this reason a very important principle, in the speaker's opinion, is the need to protect cultural and historical values from possible tyranny of private or even collective appropriation. In this connection it was proposed that one more category of ownership—national property—be introduced into the Law on Ownership. Buildings, works of art, collections, libraries, and collections of documents may be the personal property of citizens but cannot be taken outside the areas where there are concentrations of population of the people whose national property these articles or works of art are.

Among socialist enterprises the speaker named establishments fostering fundamental science, culture and art, also proposing the development through the entire package of laws of the idea of priorities in developing these sectors of knowledge.

Listening to the deputies, the Supreme Soviet instructed its standing organs—committees and commissions—to study the draft laws presented, modify them, and present them for examination by this session.

Further on 3 Oct Strike Legislation Debate

PM0410133189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Oct 89 Second Edition pp 1-2

[PRAVDA "Parliamentary Group" report from the Kremlin: "With Determination and Circumspection"]

[Text] Yesterday's morning session of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers began with a discussion of the USSR draft law "On the Procedure for Resolving Collective Labor Disputes (Conflicts)." As I. Gritsenko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Labor, Prices, and Social Policy Questions, reported, all the main provisions of this document generalize present practice, including international practice.

The document is of great significance for the entire cause of perestroyka and provoked quite a few questions from deputies. The draft law's merit consists in the conciliatory method of resolving labor conflicts enshrined in it, which makes it possible to prevent a strike which, in any event, is an extremely undesirable act. Under present conditions each of us is acutely aware of that.

For example, what have the transport workers' strikes led to?

Leaving aside the disruptions and the imbalance in the work of our industry, which is producing fewer and fewer goods, many of them, as railwaymen explain, have become stuck at border railway stations in Moldavia, seaports in the Baltic, and so forth. The former and the latter have been paralyzed by strikes. The rail minister reported the following overall figure: Because of the disorders there are 100,000 freightcars "not working," that is, standing idle in the country each day!

Concrete operational measures are needed to rectify the situation—urgent measures. As is well known, such measures are adopted in critical cases and are evidence of a particularly difficult situation. But deputies who addressed the session disagreed. Deputy Ye. Kogan from Estonia stated that before taking up arms against strikers it is necessary to seek out and punish those who are urging them to strike. You can force the genie back into the bottle, but it will escape again the next day.

Be that as it may, another point is clear: The most intelligent and useful ideas on the tactics and strategy of the perestroyka economy cannot replace the very real tonnes of metal needed to maintain its functioning, nor will those ideas heat millions of apartments in the winter ahead. It must be said that in past years the work of enterprises in winter exposed a host of shortcomings. Now, however, the situation could be aggravated by the consequences of the summer of turbulent strikes. M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, read out a number of despairing telegrams from labor collectives and from some USSR people's deputies: Metal and transport enterprises are threatened with stoppage...

Overall statistics on the losses in the national economy as it enters the winter were cited by L. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. The shortfall of output to be supplied under contract in the third quarter was 50 percent higher than in the first 6 months altogether. In July and August the disruption to supplies of consumer goods amounted to R4 billion while for food that figure was R1 billion. In September 300,000 tonnes of produce were not shipped. The targeted measures outlined by the USSR Supreme Soviet and the government to ease the imbalance in the consumer market by resorting to purchases abroad have effectively been blocked. As has already been said, 2 million tonnes of imported freight including grain, sugar, and light industry goods cannot be moved from seaports. At the same time, as is well known, the time that ships spend standing idle has to be paid for in freely convertible currency. The cause of the problem is the shortage of freightcars.

It is not only on the railroad that strikers have disrupted planned work. In September more than 3 million tonnes of coal including 600,000 tonnes of coking coal was not received from miners. This threatens to cause a standstill at metallurgical plants, which had stocks of such coal

sufficient for only 3 days' work. Fuel reserves at thermal power stations have been drained to the minimum and coal stocks for the population's needs are only one-half of last year's figure. Let us repeat at this point: The frosts are approaching and they will spare no one—neither strikers, nor those intending to strike, nor those who work conscientiously.

All these extremely negative processes are accompanied by an increase in crime as well as by the decisions of a number of local organs to stop particular production units. So as to fulfill at least the plan targets in this situation it is necessary to act with urgency and determination. L. Voronin presented for the session's examination a draft resolution prepared by the government on urgent measures to ensure the uninterrupted working of transport and base sectors of industry.

Yesterday there was a discussion of a draft law which is directly connected with the aforementioned comments—the draft law on the procedure for resolving labor disputes (conflicts). This summer has been marked by strikes, which have not only shaken the machinery of administration by command but have also and to a greater extent hit the economy of the entire country and the life of the whole Soviet people as well. Here is what USSR People's Deputy I. Ivchenko, link leader at the "Oktyabr" collective farm in Rostov Oblast's Chertkovskiy Rayon, told us on the subject of strikes:

"I am not against strikes in principle, although strikes in the countryside are simply a disaster. What was the result of the extreme methods of struggle used by the miners in our oblast? It was that 150 tonnes of meat over and above all the state orders were urgently shipped out of our rayon. The figure was virtually the same in other rayons. So it turns out that we have to feed those who aren't working. But why?"

"In all civilized countries," USSR People's Deputy V. Ryumin, deputy general designer of the "Energiya" science and production association, believes, "there is a clear-cut procedure of giving advance notice of strikes. We must take that experience into account. Otherwise, the country is threatened with total anarchy...."

In the opinion of Yu. Kalmykov, deputy chairman of the Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, the law under examination must be adopted urgently once it has been examined article by article, because it will make it possible to place in a legal framework phenomena which recently have overwhelmed the country and to prevent random and spontaneous strikes.

Then the floor was given once more to L. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. As on Monday, he devoted his speech to the urgent measures which need to be taken to ensure the uninterrupted working of rail transport and the base sectors of industry. There was a proposal to delay the introduction of such measures until 9 October and to recommend to the governments of the union republics and local soviets that they make every effort to strengthen labor discipline.

The question that we are discussing, M.S. Gorbachev recalled, worries the whole country and all our society. Unless we take this situation in hand now, there could be the most grave consequences. The paramount concerns are transport, communications, the power industry, and metallurgy.

The session continued work after a recess.

At the close of the evening session, deputies adopted the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution "On urgent measures to ensure the uninterrupted functioning of rail transport and base sectors of the national economy." The text of the resolution will be published in the press.

Karkhanin Views Strike Law, 1990 Plan Debates

PM0410161189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Oct 89 Second Edition p 1

[S. Karkhanin "Political Observer's Notes": "Debates in the Kremlin: The Law Will Arbitrate"]

[Text] Before the start of the plenary sitting on the first day of the current session I witnessed a conversation between M.S. Gorbachev and M.I. Shchadov, USSR minister of the coal industry. They discussed how the demands made by miners in the course of the strikes, in particular, regarding leave and pensions, are being met. The minister gave assurances that the preparation of the requisite documents is proceeding according to schedule and the promises made to the miners will be kept.

The echo of this strike has still not died away: As is well known, it rocked the entire industry. Moreover, information has just been received regarding holdups in the work of several more mines. The "railroad war" in the Transcaucasus is continuing. A warning strike has been planned as a sign of protest against the construction of a nuclear electric power station in Tatariya.

Against this social backdrop, which understandably cannot help but arouse the most serious concern, the USSR Supreme Soviet is discussing a draft law on collective labor disputes and a document concerning urgent steps to stabilize the situation in railroad transport. There is no need to prove the need for such normative acts. The country's economy suffers too much damage as a result of collective labor conflicts that end in strikes.

They are, in turn, most frequently brought about by problems linked with people's standard of living. One cannot help but recall a document prepared by the Soviet of the Union Commission for Labor, Prices, and Social Policy Questions and the USSR People's Control Committee. It was noted that the growth in the production of light industry goods expressed in value terms is two or three times greater than the growth in goods production in physical terms. In the period January-August despite an overall increase of 4.6 percent in light industry

commodities in value terms, production of goods at contractual prices increased by 28.6 percent. As a result costly commodities accounted for more than 40 percent of total production. In the first 6 months of this year alone light industry enterprises obtained profits totaling R1.5 billion from markups. In the same period stores within the Central Union of Consumer Societies system sold more than 30 percent of all sausages sold at high cooperative prices.

Of course, there are many other causes that brought about the strikes. Hence the extreme complexity of the problem encountered by USSR people's deputies over the last 2 days during the discussion of the proposed drafts. S.S. Alekseyev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, spoke in detail about it:

"First, the draft law on collective labor disputes included a so-called 'conciliation stage,' which is extremely important. Second, it puts an end to strikes in those spheres which must be inviolable in the interests of normal life for the entire public organism. As for the draft resolution on urgent measures, the changes made to it literally the day before were dictated by the need to provide the document with a clear legal foundation. The first version was in many respects brought about by the extreme nature of the situation: Concerned at the situation, the government proposed steps somewhat spontaneously perhaps. In discussing them, we tried to establish a link between the future resolution and the law on collective labor disputes and proposed elaborating a separate law on a state of emergency. Our committee and the government rapidly achieved consensus on this point."

Incidentally, the word "emergency" disappeared from the draft version, the second version of it. Collective reason and joint work on the part of the members of the Supreme Soviet and the government made it possible to find well-considered wording that gave no grounds for passions to be fueled once more. Emotions are not exactly helpful when preparing documents which will affect the people's "legal state of mind" in one way or another and the restoration of juridical order in relations between the state, the collective, and the individual.

How have people taken the new law? The deputies with whom I spoke during the recess hope that it will be perceived with understanding. Since man is for the most part weary of uncertainty and, of course, of camouflaged violence. Despite the attractiveness of the right to strike, which seems to have become an element of civilized life, every strike has violence and negative aspects which must be reduced to a minimum by juridical regulation. That is what S.S. Alekseyev also believes.

On the other hand, a situation which destabilizes the national economy in several republics at a stroke cannot be deemed tolerable. The Soviet of the Union Commission for Transport, Communications, and Information Science Questions has received indignant cables from voters asking the natural question: How long will local authorities display passivity without utilizing the laws which are already in force? The paralysis of the railroad in one region gives rise to a chain reaction throughout the country: Plants have a shortage of raw materials, while construction sites lack construction components... Consequently, the situation in transport must be normalized in a matter of days. Winter is knocking at our door increasingly insistently and is compelling us to make haste.

There is still the question of what brought about the idea of preparing a law on a state of emergency. Deputies gave an unequivocal answer: Even the most extreme measures within the state must be taken on a firm legal basis alone, any "spontaneous action" is intolerable in this matter.

The very course of the debates, in the opinion of many people, produces the reverse impression. The intensity of the situation in certain regions and sectors could not fail to be reflected in the speeches. However, something else is also apparent—the fact that deputies are aiming to carry out businesslike, fruitful, and professional work. This aim is particularly important since it holds promise. Especially since, despite the dramatic nature of the documents discussed on Tuesday, the strategic thrust in the activity of the chambers' standing commissions and the Supreme Soviet committees is still legislation connected with economic problems. The fundamentally important elements in this "package" include the Law on Ownership, which is increasingly assuming a philosophical, in addition to a social, resonance in the course of the work on it.

S.S. Alekseyev took the floor:

"Via this law we are achieving a new vision of socialism—democratic, humane, and absorbing all civilization's achievements. It is my profound conviction that these achievements include diverse forms of ownership. Overcoming some stereotypes and ideological cliches, we are now believe that civilization's achievements combined with our values and ideals are the way to a modern view of socialism."

At any rate the prime causes of social conflicts are linked with the question of ownership. At a meeting between deputies and U.S. diplomats the visitors said: A collective labor conflict becomes a strike in only 5 out of 100 cases in the United States. Why? It does not pay to strike. It can be assumed that when a mixed economy becomes a reality in our country the acuteness of a number of problems will be drastically weakened.

"A labor collective in our version of the draft law will be able to act as an owner," V.M. Vologzhin, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Economic Reform Questions, said. "Within the framework of the state enterprise or by completely buying up an enterprise. Or we can set up a people's enterprise within a joint-stock enterprise."

But that is in the future. In the immediate future the people's quality of life will be determined by t[illegible] 1990

plan and budget. The Council of Ministers report, along with additional materials, is now being painstakingly studied in deputies' commissions and committees. Moreover, according to V.G. Kucherenko, chairman of the Soviet of the Union Planning, Budget, and Financial Commission, the discussion is proceeding with some difficulties. The essence of the contradictions lies in making assessments: Is this plan realistic? Deputies have not as yet received convincing proof of the well-founded nature of the planned indicators on all positions. One of the main questions is the following: Are the material resources available for a 20-percent jump in consumer goods? It is interesting that the commission demanded an alternative elaboration from the planning bodies with provision for the total elimination of the budgetary deficit rather than the reduction to R60 billion as proposed in the current draft.

Deputies' commissions and committees will contine to discuss the draft laws on Wednesday.

Reportage on 4 Oct Commission, Committee Work

Commission, Committee Activity Outlined

LD0410203189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1500 GMT on 4 October broadcasts a 37-minute round-up of the work of the various committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 4 October.

After outlining the topics under discussion by the different bodies, presenter Vasilenko introduces an extract of a speech by Mostovoy, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical supply. Vasilenko says that there was criticism of this report and of the measures proposed by the government by the well-known economist and people's deputy Shmelev who said in part:

"I would like to say something about the initial philosophy of the plan and budget, and today's report, which I would sum up by describing what alarms me most about the speech by Comrade Mostovoy and his statement to the effect that if everything goes according to plan then in 2-3 years' time everything will fall into place, all will be well. Unfortunately, it won't, and I do ask my colleague to realize that the sands of time have run out. We do not have these 2-3 years. Things will either be good for us next year—1990—or things will be very bad. Our economy is on the verge of disintegration, the market is on the verge of disintegration, and if things continue as they are today then next year a general rationing system is inevitable, and in 1991 we shall have monetary reform. I shall be happy if my predictions are wrong but I consider it my duty to stress the danger which faces us.

It is a very good thing that both the Council of Ministers and the departments have finally realized the danger which threatens. Only 8-10 months ago we were all living in a situation of general equability, as you all remember very well because the Supreme Soviet unanimously voted in favor of an action of monstrous stupidity by the government, and that was the colossal size of the budget deficit which was presented just 1 year ago. In 8-10 months moods have changed, but in my view they have not changed sufficiently. In principle I support the plan and budget which has been presented, I believe that correct measures have been taken but there is just one important drawback. They are not sufficient to save us from the coming catastrophe.

All these measures affect growth values: the growth of money, demand, including ready cash and illiquid cash, for next year and a possible growth in commodities to cover this cash, including consumer goods, and the means of production. In no way do they affect the main danger—the colossal mountain of paper money already printed in all the post war decades, an especially over the past 2-3 years. This mountain threatens to collapse very quickly. We should not minimize the danger of the panic which set in this year for for various reasons, with its main manifestation being the flurry of demand [azhiotazhnyy spros] for everything, from washing powder to gold and furs, everything. The market is sweeping everything with it now and in order to quiet it down and get it back to normal there must be dramatic, emergency measures and none of these wistful desires that all wil be okay and we will balance the growth of money and the growth of commodities for this year.

The market is not settled at the moment; emergency injections into this market are needed to settle it down and get it more or less back to normal."

Shmelev goes on to make further objections to the philosophy contained in the reports by Malakhov and Mostovoy referring to material-technical supply and makes his own proposals as to how things should be put right. These include closing down cooperatives, introducing commodity loans and so on. The deputies asked Deputy Shmelev to present his more detailed proposals in the near future.

Correspondent Andrey Nikiforov then interviews Yuriy Yuriyevich Kosilnikov, chiarman of the Subcommittee for the Machine-Building complex, whose committee is examining the state plan for socioeconomic development and budget with reference to machine-building. They have been conferring with the Planning and Budget and Finance Commissions and discussing with them certain aspects which worry them, particularly in connection with the problem of conversion.

Marina Novitskaya then presents a recording of an interview with Anatoliy Pavlovich Orekhov, chairman of the Karym Rayon Executive Committee in Chita Oblast, who discusses the draft law on the land and the food problem and the work of local soviets on these matters.

Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Shelkanov, a deputy from Leningrad, talks to Vasilenko about his work on the

Committee on Issues of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies and the Development of Government and Self-Government.

In the final interview Lyudmila Semina talks to Yuriy Vladimirovich Gulik, a jurist from Kemerovo, a member of the committee investigating the work of the USSR procurator's group team headed by Gdlyan, who underlines the need for glasnost in this matter, hence the reason many journalists were invited to attend a session of the committee. The committee has already heard evidence from Sukharev, Gdlyan and Ivanov and other legal officials. The committee's main task is to get at the truth, he says, and as far as he is concerned his position is not to defend or accuse anyone.

Mostovoy on Supply Committee's Work

LD0410145689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] At the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Work is under way in the commissions and committees today. Many of them are considering the plan and budget for 1990 which the government has submitted. A session of the Commission for Planning, Budget, and Finance of the Soviet of the Union is devoted to making a detailed analysis of the balance of these documents. A report was delivered there on behalf of the State Planning Committee by Comrade Malakhov and on behalf of the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply by Comrade Mostovoy. We present an excerpt from the speech at the session of the commission by Comrade Mostovoy, chairman of the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply.

[Begin Mostovoy recording] For 1990 the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply has drawn up for its enhanced range of prodcuts 264 balance sheets and distribution plans. This is virtually the same as the State Planning Committee in range, we have approximately the same amount. In drawing up these balance sheets the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply has proceeded from the premise of priority supply of available resources, first and foremost in directions such as the output of consumer goods. Some people do have doubts even now, as there are doubts among you, too, over whether the plans will be balanced or not, and what are the approaches of the State Planning Committee and the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply.

Well, our approaches have been identical. One: on the basis of your instructions, fully—in spite of everything—in any situation to allocate everything to the last gramme to the volumes of consumer goods adopted by the ministries and departments and our agriculture. Our Main Territorial Directorate, the departments and complexes of the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply have allocated to the ministries, enterprises, and associations all kinds of resouces, sets of parts and materials in their entirety for consumer goods, all kinds of resources.

This means that we will be dealing with this through various channels, and in principle this is dealt with. We have got rid of the issue of the supply of resources and sets of parts for consumer goods. We have completely got rid of the issue of supplying the market—we are covering the market demand for manufactured and technical output on the basis of those instructions which were defined by the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers. While this year R 8,000 million worth of manufactured and technical goods were allocated for sale to the working people through the Ministry of Trade and other trade organizations, for next year we are adding R 5,000 million to make in all R 13,000 million. This covers market demand, the demand from our Soviet citizens.

We are therefore also giving priority to agriculture. That means that the decision has been made by the government, and it was then for us, in conjunction with the State Planning Committee, to take active part and prepare proposals for fully covering the demands of agriculture, at no lower than the control figures for the 5-year plan and not one gramme less than this year. So this satisfies our peasants, our agriculture. They say that if this is so we will be very pleased, this is a great help. [end recording]

Comrades Malakhov and Mostovoy replied to numerous questions from deputies. Debate on the report then began. Speaking in the debate, Deputy Shmelev was critical of the very concept of the plans submitted by the government. He does not think that the measures which were set forth are sufficient to avert further crisis. Shmelev, at deputies' request, spoke of the steps which, in his view, need to be taken to make the economy healthier as a matter of utmost urgency. We will acquaint you with an excerpt from his speech in one of the next news bulletins.

Committee Discusses Health Program

LD0410163989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1511 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 4 Oct—A TASS parliamentary correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

At a sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Public Health today the state of affairs in state social insurance was discussed.

An analysis carried out by a group of the committee on data from Gosplan and the state budget on state social insurance led the deputies to the harsh conclusion that the documents put forward for 1990 do not sufficiently reflect the social reorientation of the plan and budget. Above all the balance of capital investment in the nonproduction sphere has changed little. The financing of health services has grown little. The state of the sector requires large allocations.

During the study of such issues as the correctness of the payments of benefits and pensions, prophylactics and

lowering the number of illnesses, the level of service at sanatoriums and the conditions and protection of labor, facts and figures were given demonstrating that there are extremely few radical measures being undertaken in this field. Some figures looked simply "fantastic." For instance, it will take 40 years to eliminate workplaces with hard labor conditions at the present work rate. It will take 90 years to liberate women from night shifts in the chemical industry and even longer in the petrochemical industry.

The committee proposed increasing the financing of health services by several thousand million rubles in the coming year. However, even this measure will not, of course, resolve the entire complex of tasks with respect to the population's health protection. What is to be done?

Academician Yuriy Borodin of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, the chairman of the committee, believes that there should be a state program for health protection. He recalled that such a program has already been created but has not received the support it should. This program, said the academician, should take into account all the factors that have an impact on health—labor, the environment, the social infrastructure. This problem cannot be tackled by doctors alone. Institutions of a general profile—the government, the soviets, the supreme soviets and the local soviets—should supervise it. At the present time a program like this is being drawn up again on the initiative of the Ministry of Health and the Academy of Medical Sciences.

Taking into account the available experience in the country in creating such programs on a lower level—sectoral and regional levels—it would be desirable to construct a health protection program like a pyramid: the state program will draw on the republican and oblast programs, and so forth. The scientific basis of the project, a precisely worked out package of questions with regard to health protection for the different levels—the individual, the collective, the population—are important. This will be strategic, all-embracing work aimed at the long term. The Supreme Soviet committee also intends to be involved in the groundwork for the program.

Medvedev Discusses Gdlyan Case

LD0410231389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] [Announcer] You probably remember that a number of special commissions were set up at the Congress of People's Deputies to sort out specific matters. One of them has emerged in connection with the activities of detectives headed by Comrade Gdlyan. We still know little about the activities of all these commissions. Roy Aleksandrovich Medvedev, heading the commission that I have just mentioned, has specially invited journalists to attend its session. Our correspondent Marine Novitskaya talked to him:

[Begin recording] [Novitskya] Roy Aleksandrovich, as far as I know—and the public has been briefed about this—it was decided not to inform the public for the time being about the course of the investigation. Now you have decided to invite journalists. What prompted this?

[Medvedev] It was prompted first by the fact that my appeal and the appeal of all of us has not been satisfied. And information which was frequently quite distorted found its way into the press and foreign newspapers. Sometimes provocative articles appeared completely distorting my interviews—for example, with the Italian newspaper L'UNITA. Its text did not at all coincide with what I actually said. Gdlyan has had his interviews and statements published in the press for young people. They have also been made public through the Liberty radio station. All the same, some members of the commission have been forced to give press conferences. And in order to convince the public and to pacify the public of Moscow that we are working honestly, that our opinions differ, that our commission consists of varying people with varying opinions and that no pressure at all is exerted either by me or by the government, so to speak, on us, I have decided to invite the press to enable it to cover objectively what is going on, no matter whether good or bad. I do not even know how the session will continue.

[Novitskaya] But do you not fear that facts which are not yet proven to be true will be made public earlier than necessary?

[Medvedev] Well, you see this happens at any court trial. After all, if a supreme court trial or any other trial is on, it would go on for 2 weeks. The press would cover it. The verdict, however, would be heard only at the very end of the trial. Therefore, this is not in contradiction with the generally accepted practice. We wished to keep the case in absolute silence, so to speak. But the first people who started to wash their dirty laundry in public, as the saying goes, and began to criticize commission members and to interpret inaccurately the sessions that were held, were in fact Gdlyan and Ivanov themselves. Therefore, I think, we are now inviting the press because it must cover the course of the meeting. It must not draw conclusions. Drawing conclusions will be up to the congress.

[Novitskaya] As far as I have understood from everything that you have told me, the commission's main task is to establish the truth, and you are trying to do your best. How is the work going on?

[Medvedev] The work in the commission is proceeding in a very complex way. Because the commission consists of people of the most diverse views and trends. The commission has been set up on a parity basis. In the commission there are even representatives of the Gdlyan group, because this was Gdlyan's condition of his cooperation with the commission. Otherwise he did not want to appear with speeches before us. He has made two speeches before us.

[Novitskaya] Nevertheless, you are hearing all the interested parties, are you not?

[Medvedev] Yes, we are hearing all the interested parties.

[Novitskaya] And when do you plan to make your conclusions finally public?

[Medvedev] We will deliver a preliminary report to the congress. The [Supreme Soviet] session will be briefed next Monday. [end recording]

Deputies Question Budget

LD0410182889 Moscow TASS in English 1759 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 4 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The plan and budget for the coming year which, the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament) has been discussing for a fortnight is an issue of concern for millions of Soviet people. This makes the debates particularly intense in the parliamentary commissions, including the commission for labour, prices and social policy of the Council of the Union chamber.

The commission debated one point today—the material and technical base of the socio-cultural sphere. As the point is very important, an avalanche of questions met the report by first deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan] Stepan Sitaryan.

One of the main questions was this: What guarantees are there that the impressive large-scale programme put forward by the government will be fully implemented?

The commission's chairman Niklolay Gritsenko illustrated his questions with the following simile: An aircraft may have a double or even a triple security system to ensure its dependability. If a pilot is unable to control the flight, there is still an autopilot to back him up. Is there a back-up system for the state plan for the final year of the five-year period?

The question was all the more justified since it became clear during the debate that the people who drafted the plan had little use for suggestions coming from sociologists.

It would not have been amiss to enlist the cooperation of the sociological centre headed by academician Tatyana Zaslavskaya. She rightfully commented at the session that some parts of the draft plan for the development of the material base of the socio-cultural sphere were rather speculative in nature and lacked in scientific substantiation.

Deputies also pointed out that the drafting had not been preceded by a thorough inventory of the basic assets and, hence, much was done according to the rule of thumb.

Representatives of the standing bodies of the USSR Council of Ministers were not overwhelmed by the critical remarks and foiled many, if not all, of the attacks. Their main argument was: They had proceeded from the country's actual potentialities and material reserves. Secondly, everything in the plan is fully backed by material and technical resources.

They did not conceal the fact that a number of points are not fully consistent with the new expanded means and resources.

The present resources have been squeezed to their limits by natural disasters and social unrest. And still, the state has allotted 10 billion roubles above the original sum to invest into the non-production sphere. The plans were drafted with due account of proposals from the union republics.

Special attention was paid to the needs of people with scanty means—workers in low-paid jobs, veterans, disabled people and youth.

It is planned to build 2.4 million apartments next year. Cooperative and individual housing construction, especially in the countryside, will expand considerably. A powerful impetus will be imparted to the "second house" construction—the production of summer houses is to increase notably.

More money will be allotted for health services, maternity and child care will be given high priority. The material and technical base of resorts will be consolidated.

More money and resources will be spent on education and culture.

Government officials did not try to conceal the "weak spots" in the draft plan and budget. Their chief concern was over the inability to ensure appropriate capital investments for the perspective—a shortfall that may cause trouble in the following five-year plan period.

In this connection, deputies denounced departments and organisations which had shown no zeal in combatting mismanagement and wastefulness.

Cases of shocking negligence were cited at the session—material resources, including those purchased with foreign currency have been left neglected for years until they can no longer be used and are written off as waste.

Perestroika, they stressed, cannot tolerate mismanagement. Efforts should be made to eradicate wastefulness.

Resolution on Railroad, Basic Sector Strikes

PM0410160089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 1

["USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution on Urgent Measures To Ensure the Uninterrupted Functioning of Railroad Transport and Basic Sectors of the National Economy"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] In view of the complex economic situation in the country, exacerbated by interruptions in the work of railroad transport and a number of basic sectors, which has an adverse effect on the work of the national economy, the USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. With a view to ensuring the uninterrupted delivery of freight and the stable supply of fuel, food, and industrial goods to the population, especially in the fall-winter period, the Supreme Soviets and Councils of Ministers of union republics, USSR Ministries and departments, executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies, and leaders of enterprises are to adopt urgent measures to stop unlawful actions that disrupt the work of transport.

2. Particular attention is drawn to the intolerable situation that has grown up at the railroads of the Transcaucasus, and all organs of state management in the regions are instructed immediately to restore normal train traffic on all sectors of the aforementioned railroads.

The USSR Council of Ministers is instructed, where necessary, to entrust leadership of these railroads directly to the USSR Ministry of Railways, and to assign the protection of individual sectors and facilities essential to the operation of the aforementioned railroads, as well as bridges and tunnels, and the safeguarding of the safety of transport workers and citizens to the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the USSR Defense Ministry, and the USSR Ministry of Railways.

3. In connection with the fact that the stable operation of the national economy is ensured by the timely preparation of transport enterprises, enterprises in the fuel and power complex, and metallurgical and chemical enterprises for work in winter conditions and by the high-quality servicing of equipment and the formation of normative stocks of fuel, raw materials, and semifinished materials, strikes are to be banned at these enterprises pending the adoption of a corresponding law.

Union and autonomous republic Councils of Ministers and kray, oblast, okrug, rayon, and city soviets of people's deputies are to be granted the right during the winter period to change the work schedule of enterprises and other sectors of the national economy located on their territory, including altering days off, changing the beginning and end of work shifts, and establishing work schedules for enterprises on the basis of the available electricity resources and the capacities of electric power stations.

4. The USSR Council of Ministers and the relevant USSR Supreme Soviet committees and commissions are instructed to draw up by 1 November 1989 a USSR draft law on emergency measures, and by 1 December 1989 a USSR draft law on railroad transport.

5. The USSR Supreme Soviet condemns the use of unlawful, violent methods and actions in resolving questions of the country's socioeconomic and political life.

M.S. Gorbachev,
Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.
Kremlin, Moscow, 3 October 1989.

Political & Social

Continued Reportage on Nagorno-Karabakh Blockade

Tension Remains; Blockade Continues

LD0510170289 Moscow TASS in English 1641 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 5 TASS—The situation remains tense in Azerbaijan and the blockade of Armenia continues, according to reports from the Soviet Internal Affairs Ministry.

A total of 171 cargo trains lie idle in Azerbaijan, including 89 trains bound for Armenia.

Troops are continuing to escort trucks in Nagorno-Karabakh. A total of 43 trucks have been escorted to their destination, including 13 with food and 27 with other goods.

In Armenia, twenty one cargo trains with a total of 603 carriages, including 101 fuel tanks were transported on the trans- Caucasian rialroad.

In one of the areas, a group of armed Azerbaijanis fired shots at two shepherds and took 66 cattle to Azerbaijan. There have been attacks on individuals. Authorities are investigating all violations of the law.

Situation Reviewed

LD0410195689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Now for a report from the USSR Interior Ministry press center. The Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]: The situation in the republic remains tense. The movement of rail transport through Idzhevan and Norashan stations with freight for Armenia has not been resumed, and 150 freight cars are standing idle on the railroads, including 80 intended for Armenia.

In the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] the situation remains complex as before. The blockade is continuing. Thirty-six motor vehicles, including 8 loaded with foodstuffs and 18 loaded with national economic freight, have been accompanied by troops inside the oblast. Two freight trains have entered Stepanakert from Agdam. They include 12 cars carrying mobile houses; 4 with tower cranes; 6 with equipment; 4 with metal structures; and the rest with sand, cement, and other construction materials.

The Armenian SSR: No violations of law or order on an interethnic basis have been registered. In the republic 20 freight trains have gone through the Sadaklo station in the Transcausian railroad.

Role of Troops in NKAO Examined

LD0410225489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 4 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Ye. Kiselev, identified by caption] [Video shows a group of servicemen stroking a puppy] Do not be fooled by this idyllic scene which we observed at Stepanakert airport. [video shows servicemen helping old lady with her luggage on an airfield] And do not be fooled by such episodes as these. Students from the Minsk higher militia school are not only protecting the airport, checking tickets and documents. They also help old people with their luggage and help to load heavy luggage on the aircraft, and no particular conflicts arise with the passengers. [video shows servicemen performing these jobs]

We were told that previously there was virtual chaos at the airport. The students put an end to many abuses and profiteering on air tickets although all of this was not easy. The boys recall that at first some people promised that if they were allowed on to an aircraft without a ticket they would put in their hands a wad of notes so big that they would not believe their eyes. Now there is almost model order. Although God grant that as rarely as possible in this life do we have to impose order by such methods.

It is also true that in the conditions of the oblast's blockade the troops have undertaken the transport of almost all freight by land and air. [video shows servicemen unloading sacks from a helicopter] According to data for the end of September, that month alone they transported 320 tons of flour, 76 tons of other types of foodstuffs, hundreds of tons of national economic freight. And that is not all they have done. Repairs to a number of schools and vocational-technical colleges have been carried out by the military and the harvest has been gathered on an area of 50 hectares. Although, is it a good thing that local authorities at times transfer on to the shoulders of the military their own economic functions?

Nevertheless, the main reason why about 5,000 servicemen of the internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and militia students are here is the extremely tense and explosive situation in the oblast. And the main task of the servicemen is to maintain public order and security on the territory of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], to protect the most important facilities, to ensure the observation of the curfew from (?nightfall) to 5 am, road checks, to carry out patrols, and to accompany columns of vehicles. [video shows armed servicemen and personnel carriers; military encampment; one group of men is carrying helmets and riot shields]

This is precisely what makes up the life of this unit of the internal troops which our film crew visited. The unit has been in Nagorno-Karabakh since February this year. On the day we were filming no emergencies occurred. However, as always, one of the subunits was on military duty. It must be ready, if the alarm is sounded, to move out within 5 minutes to fulfill the set task. For this reason, even during classes the soldiers sat in full special combat equipment and a column of combat vehicles stood at the ready. [video shows correspondent talking to a group of sevicemen]

[Senior Lieutenant A. Movchan, identified by caption] Everything is mixed up here; there are Azerbaijani villages and Armenian villages. If a column goes through an Armenian village to an Azerbaijani one, they block the exit from that village, and vice versa, if it goes from an Azerbaijani village to an Armenian village, it is blocked.

[Kiselev] What attitude do you sense from the local population, the Armenian and Azerbaijani populations?

[Senior Lieutenant Yu. Pavlov, identified by caption] The feeling is that when you are defending the Armenian population you are opposed by the Azerbaijan population—and vice versa.

[Captain S. Yermochenko, identified by caption] Until the question of Nagorno-Karabakh is solved I think the internal troops will remain here to maintain and protect public order in Nagorno-Karabakh, both inhabitants of Armenian nationality and of Azerbaijani nationality.

[Kiselev] Yes, it is particularly difficult for the servicemen because they are between two fires, fulfilling the role of buffer in the interethnic conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh, and they cannot, they do not have the right to incline even a little to one side or the other. But no matter how successfully the troops cope with this task, it is not possible to rely only on them for ever. No matter how difficult it is, it is necessary to seek a political solution, and as soon as possible.

Azeris Threaten Strike, Secession

AU0410181089 Paris AFP in English 1734 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Moscow, Oct 4 (AFP)—Azeri nationalists have sent a telegram to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev threatening to call a general strike and launch a secessionist drive if Soviet troops are sent in to unblock the trans-Caucasian railway, a spokesman said.

The Popular Front spokesman, Leila Yunussova, said the telegram was sent Tuesday shortly before the Supreme Soviet, or parliament, voted a resolution prohibiting strikes in the transport, chemical and energy sectors, in the steel industry and in facility maintenance.

The vote also ordered local authorities in the strife-hit republics of Azerbaijan and Armenia to ensure that rail traffic was restored, and to call in Army and Interior Ministry troops if necessary. Nearly 85 per cent of the rail imports from the Republic of Armenia travel by the trans-Caucasian railway, which has been blocked for

more than a month by Azeri nationalists in a dispute over the Nagorno-Karabakh enclave.

Sending in Army troops "would be considered an open aggression against the people of Azerbaijan and oblige the Popular Front to call a general strike and to petition international organizations on the question of Azerbaijan's departure from the USSR," Mrs. Yunussova said, quoting the telegram.

Popular Front leaders were summoned Tuesday to the local Communist Party headquarters, after the local party secretary, Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, pledged Tuesday to the parliament to do "everything possible" to ensure the proper functioning of the railway. He stressed at the time that it was blocked by "the people, by the population and women who are standing on the tracks".

'Deterioration' in NKAO Viewed

NC0410211889 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] The situation has deteriorated in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] where there has been an increase in crimes of a primarily interethnic nature. As usual [words indistinct] in areas where Armenians and Azeris live side by side. The village of (?Dogchuk) in Hadrut Rayon, once a [word indistinct] of internationalist traditions, is now frequently mentioned in the NKAO internal affairs department logs. All information on incidents in the NKAO is kept in these logs. For example, just before midnight on 1 October an [word indistinct] took place in (?Dogchuk), but fortunately no one was injured. There is special concern over the relations between teachers and students of the two nationalities in the local schools because these relations will inevitably affect the [word indistinct] of the villagers. If the recriminations and arguments are not stopped, they could end in clashes. This is why the [words indistinct] security forces contingent in (?Doghcuk) will be augmented.

In the settlement of Kerkrchen on the outskirts of the oblast's capital, two [words indistinct] Azeris were wounded by pellets. The Azeris say the incident took place in the courtyard of their home at 0800. The incident is under investigation.

The inhabitants of remote Armenian villages in Hadrut and Shushi Rayons are experiencing sleepless nights because the Azeris constantly threaten them. The Azeris hope to force the Armenians to abandon their native land.

There is no need to recount all the incidents that have further exacerbated the situation. It is sufficient to say that the situation has recently deteriorated in all the oblast's regions. Innocent people suffer as a result of the reciprocal stoning of cars, the [words indistinct] nighttime acts of terror, and the theft of animals which have become commonplace.

Although there has been relative calm since yesterday evening, one wonders if [word indistinct] and passions will soon subside. In any case, one cannot speak of peace while the NKAO remains blockaded. The recent arrival of two trains in Stepanakert did not improve the situation because nearly (?300) rail car carrying an assortment of goods for the NKAO are stranded along the rails outside the oblast. The efforts of the Special Administration Committee and the commandant of the special district to open the roads have failed so far.

The continuing deterioration of the situation coincides with the current deliberations of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Apparently, this is inciting those forces that have nothing to place on the parliamentary negotiating table. What can be done? We must take resolute action to reestablish law and order in the region. Everyone must realize that heightened tension unfairly delays a political solution to the NKAO problem.

Trushin, Bakarinov Comment on Situation

LD0410160389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1840 GMT 2 Oct 89

["USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs reports," program; presented by correspondent V. Bakarinov, identified by caption]

[Text] Good evening comrades. I would like to devote our meeting today to questions of nationalism and extremism which are now manifesting themselves in several republics. Indeed, absolutely real crimes are occurring on these grounds. People are perishing. First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs Vasiliy Petrovich Trushin has just returned from a trip around Azerbaijan.

[Trushin] Perhaps since February last year when events connected with the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] began first in Stepankert, the oblast center of NKAO, then in Yerevan and a bit later in Baku, not a day has gone by that the Ministry of Internal Affairs report, which reflects events of the previous 24 hours, has not contained alarming reports from this region.

I have here the report for the past 24 hours. Fizulinskiy rayon: shortly after midnight unknown persons threw two grenades into Sulimanov's house in the village of (Arysh). As a result of the explosion the roof caved in. Fortunately there were no casualties. At 2145 unknown persons fired at a detachment of internal troops' military personnel near the same village. Privates (Gubashev and Rodionenko) received gunshot wounds and are now hospitalized.

Lachinskiy rayon: at 2335 on 30 September, 23 km along the road from Lachin to Akara, unknown persons fired on a (?Vaz) vechicle. Mustafayev, the driver, was injrued and the vehicle was damaged. Mardakertskiy rayon: and Comrades, let me remind you that all this took place in a 24-hour period—at 1400 a group of Armenians

stopped a vehicle convoy travelling from Barda to Kelbadzhar and pelted it with stones near the village of Magavuz. Two lorries were damaged. Gadrutskiy rayon: at 1700 a group of Azerbaijanis threw stones at and damaged a Vaz vehicle near the village of (?Tob). (Manchasaryan), the driver, was hurt—as were his three passengers.

[Bakarinov] Another Deputy Minister, Yuriy Dmitriyevich Zhurkin, has also just returned from a trip around Armenia. Yuriy Dmitriyevich, tell us if you would, what is going on on the other side of the nationalities' barricades?

[Zhurkin] During a past visit to Armenia in January I met many people. All of them were different in their own way. But they were alike in one way. Each of them had pain in their eyes, interminable pain and grief. Many of them had lost their nearest and dearest, left behind under the ruins of a terrible earthquake. They had lost their homes. Also fixed in my memory are the work-worn hands which had labored for many years of the people of the village of Archut. These were mostly Azerbaijanis who had left their familiar, well-known territory. And I was able to see the result of this resettlement in September during my latest visit. It was reflected in the unprecedentedly high prices for vegetables and fruit, comparable only with prices in Moscow.

And that is not the most...that is, I mean, [stumbles over his words] that is in the most southerly part of our country at the very height of the season. These problems are now multiplied many-fold by the blockade—I am not afraid to use the word—in the republic's neighbor in the country. At the Yerevan railway department I saw figures on the arrival of trucks with freight. The average daily plan for receiving them in September this year was 1,540 trucks. In fact the average number received per day in the first 10 days of the month was 441, in the second 10 days 486, and between 21 and 27 September, in other words during the plenum and at the start of the session, the number of trucks with freight arriving increased from 493 to 1,426. But since 28 September the figure has been falling again and on 30 September only 208 trucks arrived and of those 190 arrived from the Transcaucasus railway from Georgia while only 18 trucks arrived from the Azerbaijani railway. That could not fail to give rise to serious complications in providing the vital needs of the population.

I also went to have a look in the shops to see the situation there. The shelves are empty. There isn't even any pasta or vermicelli. Many shops for the most part have no oats. And if they do stil have some back at their storage bases there is no way of getting them to the shops because there is no gasoline.

That is also the situation amongst the builders in our internationalist teams. In particular, I visited the Belorussian builders who are complaining that cement (?is running out) while the Austrians don't understand why there is no gasoline. Even the heads of this building organization can't get any with their contractors and clients.

Generally speaking, a very large number of problems has arisen. After the CPSU Central Committee plenum, a meeting in Yerevan Theater Square criticized the CPSU platform as incapable of resolving the urgent problems of the country and stated that our republic, like other republics, remains in fact, without rights—with the status of a colony. Unfortunately, at such meetings which attract thousands of people, you won't hear a word about internationalist feeling. But the meeting back on 24 September went so far as to call the Central Committee the Republic's most harmful institution and to suggest that Communists and Komsomol members return their membership cards and that actually is what happens quite often.

[Bakarinov] Are there any figures available which might back up all this polemic on grounds of nationality in which these leaders engage? Do you know, Vasiliy Petrovich?

[Trushin] Yes, such figures are available. Hundreds of thousands of people of both nationalities have been drawn into this conflict. Since February 1988, 117 people have already died in Armenia and Azerbaijan, 3,145 people have been injured, over 2,000 houses and apartments have been burned down and wrecked, and 327,000 Armenians and Azerbaijanis have become refugees. As you can see the tragedy has spread far and wide.

[Bakarinov] Vasiliy Petrovich, what is happening right now in this part of the country is indeed something of a real partisan war on the railways, and there are probably also some other spheres where the situation is alarming too. Have you noticed that?

[Trushin] Yes indeed. Perhaps the most complex element of the current situation is the blockade on communications by road and rail between the two republics. It must be said that approximately 85 percent of freight arrives in Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia by the Azerbaijani and Transcaucasus railways which run through the territory of Azerbaijan. From 4 September this year the Azerbaijani Popular Front decided tdo stop supplying freight to Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh and blockaded, let me repeat, both the roads and the railways. This is the form of campaign which has been chosen by the Popular Front for the defense—in the opinion of its leaders—of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the republic from encroachments by the Arnmenians.

The activity and agents of the Popular Front are in no way put off by the fact that during the blockade the national economy of our country has been caused damage estimated at over R1 billion and that this blockade is causing suffering not only in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh but also in Azerbaijan itself because it is not possible to dispatch finished goods to industrial

enterprises or to receive raw materials or half finished products since the railways are jammed with the backlog of trains.

During my recent visit to Azerbaijan I visited the Nakhichevan ASSR and the NKAO. What is the immediate impression that one gains here? What can be felt everywhere? I would say the complete and utter oppositeness and irreconcilibility of the positions and the extreme excitement of people. The behavior of the refugees of both nationalities is particularly aggressive, if I can put it that way. That applies in Baku, Nakhichevan, and in Stepanakert. To a certain extent one can understand these people. They have lost their jobs, their homes, and often all they have. Some of them are quite literally poverty stricken. But at the same time extremists of various sorts are using every means available to instill in these people the notion that either the Armenian or the Azerbaijani people, depending on the nationality of the refugees themselves, are to blame for all their troubles, that Moscow is to blame, central government is to blame.

The leaders of the Karabakh movement in Armenia are primarily to blame for kindling passions and making the situation into a crisis. I can mention some of them by name. They are Ashot Manuchuryan, Levon Ter-Petrosyan, Khasik Stampoltsyan, and others. They have become deputies in the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR and do not conceal their ambitions to seize the leadership posts in the republic.

The leaders of the Azerbaijani Popular Front are using similar tactics, virtually identical tactics. They are Abulfaz Aliyev, (Ikhtibar Memedov), Nadzhaf Nadzhafov, Naimat Panakhov, and others. Here too, at meetings and in certain sections of the mass media, it is literally drummed into people that responsibility for the tragic events and for the current situation lies not with Aliyev or Demirchyan, nor with their stooges or the corrupt elements and ringleaders of the moonlighting economy of both republics but that the center is to blame for everything along with the current leadership of the republics. That is what I heard in both Nakhichevan and Nagorno-Karabakh.

It is sad and painful to see women and children in Stepanakert who line up at 4 or 5 in the morning for a scrap of bread. It is sad and painful to see thousands of hectares of marvellous grapes rotting on the vine because there is no way of dispatching them and nowhere for them to go. The cattle are unfed. The fields are unplowed.

In these extremely difficult conditions the Committee for the Special Administration of Nagorno-Karabakh is literally making heroic efforts to provide people with at least a minimum of goods, medicines, and fuel and are acting with the commanders of the Internal Troops to prevent the escalation of the constant strikes and stone-throwing wars—which have already been going on on the roads for a long time—developing into a real civil war between the peoples of two union republics.

[Bakarinov] And the most annoying thing, obviously, is that the people of both republics have to pay for the political ambitions of the national leaders who are aspiring for power, and pay a cruel price as we can see.

[Trushin] Yes, that is so, for the aspirations and the great unsatisfied ambitions of certain leaders—we have already mentioned some of them by name. The situation has reached crisis point. Immediate political actions are needed and they should be taken in accordance with the CPSU platform on the party's nationalities' policy and with the decisions of the September plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on the unacceptable nature of any reshaping of boundaries or changes in the shape of national formations.

As I see it, the chief say here should belong to the party organization of the republics and to the Supreme Soviet of our country.

'Tense Situation' in NKAO Observed

LD0410103389

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 2 October presents a report with radio correspondent Ye. Kiselev on the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. "This is how Stepanakert, the center of Nagorno-Karabakh, appeared to us after 8 months of being in a special situation. The airport, which is in fact the only link connecting the town with the outside world, has been put under the reinforce guard of the cadets from Minsk higher militia school and the internal services troops. There are numerous document checks and strict inspections of personal belongings, as well as roadblocks. We have observed such scenes upon leaving Stepanakert, as well as many times in different places in the autonomous oblast." The video shows cadets guarding the airport, people and vehicles being checked, and tanks.

Kiselev says: "Such strict security measures are dictated by the extremely tense situation. Not a single day passes without shots being heard, clashes occurring between Armenians and Azerbaijanis, attacks on motor vehicles by one side or the other. Throughout the oblast a great many firearms are registred which have not been given up. The internal services troops ensure that convoys get through and patrol the roads.

"The first thing that strikes one in Stepanakert is the number of people in the streets at the height of the working day. Although the strike has ended, many enterprises are not operating owing to the lack of raw materials. Supplies of foodstuffs to the residents are disrupted. Huge queues form outside the shops early in the morning for all necessities. Neither is there abundance on the town market. The grapes are withering away in the fields there is not enough fodder for the livestock,

pigs are being slaughtered outside the plan. The only thing that there is plenty of in the shops is meat. Prices are rising in the face of the threat of the autumn sowing failing." Kiselev goes on to say that everywhere the blockade is given as the reason for this. The video shows streets full of people, queues outside shops, scenes at the town market where people complain angrily that there is nothing in the shops and ask who is to blame.

Kiselev recounts that the NKAO railways have been blockaded by the Azerbaijanis. The day that they were filming, the first train since the beginning of the blockade arrived at Stepanakert, but eight out of the ten rail cars were empty. The video shows trains standing idle, a train arriving and people holding bills of landing.

He goes on to talk about the gasoline shortage, the queues for gasoline early in the morning, but only official vehicles get the strictly enforced ration of ten liters per day. Private cars are mostly unused, although gasoline can be bought from black marketeers for as much as R100 for 20 liters. Housing construction has almost come to a standstill, even in the settlements for Armenian and Azerbaijani refugees. Kiselev states that there are more than 300,000 refugee settlements, and refugee children. In the settlement for Azerbaijani refugees, people complain angrily to the camera crew. Similar scenes of angry people are shown in Stepanakert, followed by shots of the NKAO Special Administration Committee building. Kiselev concludes by saying that neither side is willing to make compromises.

Azerbaijan Popular Front Leader Interviewed

PM0410145689 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 40, 1 Oct 89 p 4

[Unattributed interview with Azerbaijan Popular Front executive member Leyla Yunusova: " 'It's Not a Blockade.' Said Leyla Yunusova, an Executive Member of Azerbaijan's Popular Front in an Interview With 'MN'"]

[Text] [MN] The extraordinary session of Azerbaijan's Supreme Soviet has just come to an end. Can one call its decisions progressive in the present complicated situation?

[Yunusov] In our opinion, we can. The Republic's Supreme Soviet decided to abolish the Special Rule Committee operating in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region, thus meeting one of the Popular Front's major demands. All efforts to steer the session away from vital problems failed. At one moment, First Secretary of Azerbaijan's Communist Party Vezirov instructed the Public Prosecutor to arrest the executive members of the Popular Front present at the session. The workers of all the industrial enterprises who watched the session live on TV went on strike immediately. So the session was hard put it to meet yet another of our demands: to publish the law on sovereignty for public discussion. The session that followed on August 23 adopted the law, according to which all decisions of the USSR government will now come into effect on the territory of Azerbaijan only after they are approved by the Republic's Supreme Soviet.

[MN] How are Azerbaijan's new laws going to affect the people of Nagorny Karabakh?

[Yunusov] Those who dislike these laws can leave for Armenia. We'll replace them with our homeless refugees.

[MN] Was the issue of blockade of Armenia discussed at the session?

[Yunusov] The decision about the railway strike was made by the Popular Front, not the Supreme Soviet. Our conditions for calling the strike off remain in force: first of all Armenia is to renounce its territorial claims to Nagorno-Karabakh. Generally speaking I don't think it's a blockade. We simply stopped giving Armenia what we used to give her free: our oil and our products... [Yunusov ends]

As MN learned at the State Procurement Committee of Armenia, of about 100,000 tons of goods that used to be delivered to Armenia daily by rail from Azerbaijan before the blockade a mere 3 to 4 per cent were from Azerbaijan.

Events in Armenia Described

PM0410145289 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 40, 1 Oct 89 pp 4-5

[Avet Demuryan and Andrey Prainikov dispatch: "Blockade. Events in Armenia"]

[Text] Emma Arutyunyan was in charge of receiving refugees from Azerbaijan. For more than a year new arrivals have been getting first aid and free meal coupons from her room at Yerevan's Zvartnos Airport. The alarming word "refugee" is now frequently uttered in both Armenia and Azerbaijan as no end seems to be in sight to the conflict between the two Republics, which started in February last year after a session of the Regional Council of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region passed a decision on secession from the Republic of Azerbaijan. Reluctant to live in constant fear, hundreds of thousands of people have been forced to abandon their homes and work. Calls for reasonableness have proved useless. Not even last December's horrible earthquake overshadowed the passions triggered by the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute.

In Emma's little room, where other airport officials drop in to get an up-date on the news, the most often repeated word today is "blockade".

Zvartnots Airport is under strain. Fuel for aircraft has to be delivered to Yerevan by air. Ararat Sarkisyan, head of passenger flights, says that a transport plane from Moscow burns practically as much fuel on its way as it can bring aboard. Aircraft flying from Yerevan have to

take a minimum that will get them only to the stopover in Tbilisi or Mineralniye Vody—where they refuel. This is fantastically expensive.

Armenia receives most of its supplies (up to 85 percent) from roads passing across Azerbaijan's territory. Now that Republic's transport workers have blocked railways, and roads, Armenia has found itself virtually cut off from the rest of the country. This act has been called a strike, though the embargo is only on deliveries to Armenia, other deliveries are carried out as usual. The main demand is: Keep the status quo of Nagorno-Karabakh, make the Region's Armenian population give up their demands for secession from Azerbaijan, and force Armenia to end support for the inhabitants of Nagorno-Karabakh.

The blockade has continued through the whole of September. There were attempts to resolve the problem through negotiations, and at one point it seemed that they would be successful. For three days deliveries were partially resumed, but then the barriers were lowered again, and it again became necessary to fly in the cement and building materials for work in the earthquake-affected zones. Today there is no longer any hope of building the planned number of houses by winter—many will continue to live in tents. Specialists from Norway cannot complete their work and open the hospital they have built there. Teams sent from many Republics and regions to help Armenia can do nothing.

Yerevan is short of medicine and petrol: ambulances are allotted a mere 15 litres a day. Doctors make visits only in the most severe cases and often have to get a reading of a patient's symptoms over the phone, then recommend one or another remedy from the home first- aid kit. "If it doesn't help," they say, "give another ring"; they then pool petrol from different vehicles and go on their mission.

Vaag Saakyan, Armenia's deputy Minister of Trade, says that the Republic has just a day's supply of yeast: there will be nothing to bake bread with unless emergency measures are taken. There are also difficulties with flour, we need to start up the little mills that have been standing idle for many years in rural areas. There is a shortage of sugar, meat, canned fish and tobacco. But food has not yet disappeared from the stores.

The Republic's economy is suffering immense losses. Many enterprises are closed fully or partially: there are no raw materials, warehouses are full of finished products. Who will pay for the damage?

"Regrettably, no one," says Vladimir Nazaryan, procurator of the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. "Because in our state Republics are not juridical bodies against who charges can be made. The situation, where one Republic has declared an economic blockade on another, is unprecedented. This has to be taken into account, and legal solutions must be sought. I believe we need to envisage the possibility of making claims against the government of a Republic. The latter, having compensated the damage, should then have the right to take legal action against specific culprits.

"The present situation could be called strange, were it not for its seriousness. Verbally, everyone is in favour of internationalism and friendship. But I took part in negotiations with the leaders of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic concerning permission to let at least one train carrying medicine across its territory. The Chairman of the Autonomous Republic's Council of Ministers said he could not make the railwaymen open the road. A decision could only be taken by the Popular Front, which had declared the blockade.

"The Chairman of the Front in the Ilyichevskiy District, who was invited to the talks, presented us with a memorandum containing the terms on which the deliveries could be resumed. These mention territorial claims dating back to 1924, a demand that Armenia apologize for the insults inflicted upon Azerbaijan, and that Azerbaijanians who have left Armenia be compensated."

The frontiers of Armenia's Ararat District and the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, belonging to Azerbaijan, border on the village of Yeraskh. The road has been blocked. There are barriers on both sides. Previously there was a veterinary control point here. Now all cars are checked, and only those who really have to attempt the journey. Soldiers on both sides maintain order. But checks on the Azerbaijanian side are not carried out by them, but by people in civilian clothes wearing ribbons on their sleeves. We were struck by one scene we witnessed: an army vehicle was being searched. The driver and an officer stepped down and didn't interfere with those carrying out the check.

People in Yeraskh and in other areas of Armenia get news about developments in the country and in the rest of the world much later than everywhere else. Paper is running out. Publications have to be flown in from Moscow and Siberia. There was a risk that newspapers carrying reports about the Moscow Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee on interethnic relations would not appear in the Republic, but local printshops went over to book paper and printed the editions. Reports from the session of Armenia's Supreme Soviet, which resumed its work after an interval, also went out on book paper.

In all of their statements deputies, naturally, spoke about the blockade. Khachik Stamboltsyan said that the military, having already allocated 350,000 tons of fuel from their reserves, would no longer be in a position to help transport workers. The situation is constantly being aggravated. There is a need for interference on the part of the central government, and for a solution from the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which opened in Moscow on September 25.

A statement by Armenia's State Committee for Statistics, concerning damage done to the Republic's economy

and the economy of other regions linked to its enterprises by contractual relations, ends with the words: "in the eventuality that a solution of the question of lifting the blockade is delayed, the Republic's industry will be virtually paralyzed in the immediate future, with all the consequences arising therefrom."

The proposal made by some deputies that Armenia turn to the UN for assistance sparked off discussion at the session of Armenia's Supreme Soviet. The same proposal was published earlier in Nagorno- Karabakh's regional newspaper Sovetskiy Karabakh. This Autonomous Region has actually been under blockade for many months. A permanent "stone war" is being fought on the roads leading to it along Azerbaijan's territory. Deliveries made under military escort, still arrive utterly battered. Vehicles are not only stoned, but quite often fired upon. People continue to be killed and today it is a risky affair even to move with a convoy.

Karabakh is being helped by Armenia, which has likewise found itself blockaded. Deliveries from Yerevan to Stepanakert, the region's centre, are being made by air. The number of daily flights has been tripled. At Zvartnots Airport we were shown a memorandum, signed by members from the primary organization of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan at Baku Airport and addressed to the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation and the Republican organizations of Armenia. It warned that Baku-Yerevan flights will be terminated beginning September 25. "With a view," the airmen write, "to ruling out provocative and terrorist acts on the part of Armenian extremists." The pilots and other employees at Zvartnots say there have been no such acts. Will the blockade be extended to flights as well?

In Yerevan deputies supported the statement made by their colleague Sosa Sarkisyan, an artist, who demanded that criminal proceedings be instigated against those who masterminded the blockade. One of the speakers, Melik-Pashayev (apologizing for not knowing Armenian because he had previously lived in Baku), spoke about the hardships being faced by Armenians who had decided not to abandon their homes and to stay in Azerbaijan.

At the session much was said about the immoral organizers of the blockade, who were putting in a grave predicament people who experienced the earthquake, lost their close ones and their homes. The aid this country is giving Armenia is being blocked by its neighbours, the very neighbours who are also familiar with the problem of refugees: Thousands of Azerbaijanians have found themselves in the capacity of "persons forced to leave their places of permanent residence." A State Committee of the Azerbaijan SSR has even been formed the other day to tackle the refugee problem.

A blockade is an unacceptable method of exerting political pressure. It has to be lifted. But, as long as the question has not been solved—and for the purpose of solving it as soon as possible—we need to have the truth about developments in Trans-Caucasia. Hushing up events around Nagorno-Karabakh and the information blackout in the spring of last year merely aggravated the situation. The outrages in Sumgait, not condemned in full voice, led to new victims, to the outbreaks of monstrous brutality not only in Azerbaijan but in Ferghana, Novyy Uzen..., bringing thousands of new refugees.

One can well understand the injured feelings of workers at Yerevan's Armelektrodvigatel plant, who recieved a cable from contractors in Chita reproaching them for the fact that workers in the Trans-Baykal area were forced to stand idle and suffer losses, because of their nationalistic ambitions. The goods yard and the warehouses of the enterprise are stuffed with finished products. There are no facilities to take them out of the Republic or to bring raw materials in. This has to be spoken about, no—shouted about.

On the morning of September 26 an MN [Moscow News] correspondent was informed that, according to the Main Administration of Internal Troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, only nine out of the 12 trains carrying building materials from Azerbaijan to Armenia arrived, and that another train carrying food also did not get through either.

Opening the 2d Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Mikhail Gorbachev said that this region cannot be left in the situation in which it finds itself now. If things do not stabilize, in his opinion, the Soviet government, together with Republican bodies, will have to submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet concrete proposals on comprehensive measures to untie this knot. Let's see what happens over the next two days, said the President of the USSR Supreme Soviet; let the government get ready to report its proposals if necessary.

Armenian Electricity Shortage Debated

PM0410154589 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 17 Sep 89 p 2

[ARMENPRESS report: "Consuming Electricity Rationally Under Conditions of Acute Shortage"]

[Text] On 15 September V. Doguzhiyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Emergency Situations, held a conference which discussed the state of energy supplies to the republic and measures to prepare for the 1989-1990 fall and winter season.

Ye. Petryayev, USSR deputy minister of power, delivered a report on the issue.

The conference noted that in connection with the stoppage of the Armenian nuclear electric power station an acute electricity shortage has arisen in the republic, reaching about 260 megawatts. A number of measures have been worked out to eliminate this shortage. It is

proposed to step up monitoring of the execution of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers resolution on saving energy resources. Measures have been examined for switching the leave days of some enterprises to different days of the week and for staggering the start of the working day among enterprises with a view to distributing an equal load for the electricity they consume.

Measures were also examined for creating stocks of furnace fuel and increasing deliveries of liquid gas in cylinders. Specialists in organizing the rational use of energy resources will be sent to the republic to render aid to Armenia's municipal services.

The conference stressed the need to mount a broad explanatory campaign among the population regarding the need to economize on energy consumption as much as possible under the conditions of the acute shortage. To this end it is essential to enlist the public to monitor the rational utilization of electricity, including in yards, entrance lobbies, and other public places.

M. Serobyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; L. Saakyan, deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers; D. Kochkin, USSR minister of power; members of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Emergency Situations task force, and responsible workers of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers apparatus, State Planning Committee, and "Armglavenergo" took part in the work of the conference.

Appeals for Armenian Detainees Reported

PM0410155989 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 17 Sep 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "In Armenian SSR Prosecutor's Office"]

[Text] Numerous appeals are reaching the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic from USSR people's deputies from the Armenian SSR, deputies of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, and various groups of refugees from the Azerbaijan SSR and representatives of the public expressing profound concern for the fate of people of Armenian nationality in investigation cells on the territory of the Azerbaijan SSR accused of crimes committed on an interethnic basis.

The appeals contain requests to examine the question of the possibility of transferring these people to investigation cells in other parts of the country and for the subsequent investigation of these cases to be assigned to the investigation organs of the USSR Prosecutor's Office or the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The Armenian SSR Prosecutor's Office Collegium has appealed to A. Ya. Sukharev, USSR prosecutor general, to resolve the question. The Armenian SSR Prosecutor's Office collegium believes that this will make it possible greatly to ease the extremely tense situation both in the Armenian SSR and in the region as a whole.

Crimean Soviet Adopts Halt to AES Financing

PM0410090589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Stepan Troyan reports from Simferopol under general rubric "Direct Line. Own Correspondents at the Teleprinter": "Nuclear Electric Power Station Funding Suspended"]

[Text] The question of whether the Crimean nuclear power station [AES] is to be or is not to be has been debated for several months now. However, time is passing and no decision has been taken.

Now the Crimean Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, discussing a report of its Executive Committee, has adopted a document which could be summed up as follows: The Crimean branch of the USSR Bank for Industrial Construction has been instructed to stop financing the construction of the AES now being built on the territory of an all-union sanatorium.

V. Kurashik, first deputy chairman of the Crimean Oblast Soviet Executive Committee [oblispolkom], commented the soviet's decision as follows:

Countless meetings, rallies, and demonstrations have been held in the Crimea of late at which demands to suspend the project have been heard again and again. There have even been calls for extreme measures—strikes, to be specific—although everyone understands that we are not prosperous enough to be able to afford such steps.... On the day of the oblast soviet session posters and banners were erected in front of the building demanding an answer to the question: What is going to happen about the AES? Someone put about the rumor that "fuel" had already been delivered to the station. I can state emphatically that nuclear fuel has not been delivered to the Shchelkino settlement. The Crimean branch of the Bank for Industrial Construction has been told not to settle accounts for the delivery of fuel. Now V. Baranovskiy, USSR people's deputy and chairman of the oblast veterans' council, and A. Sergeyev, an oblast soviet deputy and a welder at the Feodosiya machine building plant, have proposed that funding of the dangerous construction project be suspended.

A cable to this effect has been dispatched to the country's government. The final decision on the fate of the Crimean AES will be taken by the USSR Council of Ministers.

Construction Continues; Protests 26 Sep

PM0310142189 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 26 Sep 89 p 2

[RATAU correspondent L. Ryabchikov report: "The Crimean Nuclear Power Station: To Be or Not To Be?"]

[Text] Participants in a rally held in Simferopol demanded the fulfillment of a decision by an oblast soviet session to halt construction of the Crimean Nuclear Power Station [AES]. The scientists, power engineering specialists, workers, mothers of large families, and representatives of unsponsored organizations who addressed the rally expressed their worry caused by the fact that, contrary to common sense and not knowing what decision the government will make regarding the future of the AES, the construction teams are still at work and considerable funds are being expended on it instead of being utilized to overcome the economic difficulties being experienced by the country.

Last April's oblast soviet session, taking into account the Crimea's specific character as an all-Union resort and scientists' warnings about the critical level of earthquake danger in the area where the AES is sited, spoke out against the station's existence in the peninsula. In the meantime, the construction site has taken delivery of a reactor which has undergone reliability tests involving assembly quality control in plant conditions. A steam generator followed hot on its heels.

This was perceived by Crimean people as departmental unwillingness to take their opinion into account. They responded by organizing pickets along the approach road to the construction site. Similar pickets, organized in some population centers, formed a symbolic "chain" along the Simferopol-Kerch highway. The question "When will construction work at the Crimean AES come to an end?" (PRAVDA UKRAINY 15 September) was asked of L.D. Ryabev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, by USSR People's Deputy A.N. Girenko, first secretary of the Crimean Oblast party committee (now secretary of the CPSU Central Committee).

People in the Crimea insist on immediate fulfillment of the adopted decision. But how do the nuclear power industry workers respond? I went to the station—with a sign reading "Crimean AES: All-Union Komsomol Shock Labor Construction Site" still displayed on the approach road—and talked with its Director V.A. Tanskiy.

"On instructions from the USSR Council of Ministers commission," he told me, "AES specialists have prepared studies of alternative options envisaging either the commissioning of the station's first power unit, or its mothballing, or its conversion into a fully equipped training center or a processing enterprise. They themselves insist that the final decision is delayed until the completion of additional research to establish the zone' seismicity now being carried out by an Italian specialist."

[Ryabchikov] When will the results be known?

[Tanskiy] A preliminary conclusion will be ready by the end of October, and it will take another year to obtain the final data.

[Ryabchikov] Does this mean that you will also refrain from pushing ahead with the reactor's installation until the situation is finally clarified?

"All control tests have already been carried out," the director said, "and we will embark on installation in a month's time."

"The oblast leadership is taking all measures to ensure that construction work is halted," V.V. Kurashik, first deputy chairman of the Crimean Oblast Soviet Executive Committee, declared in his turn in reply to a question about the station's future. "Letters to this effect have been sent to the very top. USSR people's deputies have been given a mandate to help accelerate the problem's solution."

Meanwhile, construction work is continuing at the AES.

Ukrainian Deputy Criticizes Draft Elections Law

LD0410102489 Kiev in Ukrainian to North America 2200 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] Discussion of the draft law on elections is continuing in the republic. Vitaliy Korotich, USSR people's deputy, in an interview for Radio Kiev on the virtues of the official draft was very resolute:

[Begin Korotich recording] My attitude to the draft is negative, extremely negative. It is a draft drawn up by the former buraucracy with the purpose of preserving its privileges. I'll be one of those who will fight against this draft and do everything in order to kill it off.

First of all, there must be no deputies from public organizations. Under no circumstances can we allow this to happen. Secondly, no constituency should have only one candidate. Elections must be direct and on an alternative basis—no less than two candidates per constituency and direct elections.

I shall attend the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic since I still remain a deputy of this Supreme Soviet as well, and shall do everything in order to achieve democratic elections. [end recording]

Further on Ukraine Central Committee Plenum

LD0410041489 Kiev in English to Europe 1900 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Today, the plenum of the Communist Party of Ukraine Central Committee took place in Kiev. M. Gorbachev, general secretary of CPSU Central Committee took part in it. The plenum considered an organizational issue. Shcherbitskiy's request to relieve him of his post was met. Gorbachev delivered a speech. [passage omitted]

On behalf of the commission on questions of the organizational-party and cadre work of the Communist Party

of Ukraine Central Committee the floor was given to Hryhoriy Kharchenko, first secretary of the Zaporozhye Party Obkom.

[Begin Kharchenko recording, in Russian fading into superimposed English translation] On the eve of the plenum a broad exchange of opinions took place in the party committees of the republic concerning the candidatures for the post of first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine Central Committee. Taking part in it were members of the bureaus of the oblast party committees, first secretaries of the city and rayon committees, members and candidate members of the Communist Party of Ukraine Central Committee, USSR people's deputies and deputies of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet. All together, more than 1,600 people took part in the conferences. About 200 people spoke there.

The commission generalized their opinions and now turn your attention to them. The participants of the conferences arrived to the conclusion that Comrade Ivashko should be elected first secretary. He is an experienced party leader, he has a firm stand, strong ability to analyze, a broad outlook, boldness in assessments, conclusions and actions. He is a democratic person, tolerant to other people's opinions, a man who respects other people's views.

At the same time I'd like to say that at these conferences other candidatures were nominated as well. I give their names in alphabetic order: Comrade Gurenko, in Donetsk and Zaporozhye Oblasts; Comrade Yelchenko, in Vinnitsa and Kiev Oblasts; Comrade Kapto, in Vinnitsa and Kiev Oblasts and in the city of Kiev; Comrade Korniyenko, in the city of Kiev; Comrade Masol, in the city of Kiev, Comrade Revenko, in Kiev Oblast and in the city of Kiev; Comrade Skiba, in Transcarpathian and Odessa Oblasts.

In some places, for example at the conference of the members of the Communist Party of Ukraine Central Committee and the Kiev City party committee, certain bits of advice were given to Comrade Ivashko. For example, Denysenko, of the Kiev Institute of Selective Dynamics, while pointing to the [word indistinct] qualities of the candidate, drew the attention to his shortage of experience in the field of economic activities.

At the confernce of the odessa party obkom it was pointed out that it is necessary to more fully take into account its specific character and (?issues of different districts and areas). [end recording]

Debates began. The first to take floor was well known Ukrainian scientist, Konstantin Sytnyk. He pointed out that it is necessary to hold elections on an alternative basis and put forward the candidature of Stanislav Gurenko.

Mykhaylo Rodionov, prorector of Kiev Polytechnic, supported this thought that the elections should be held only on an alternative basis. He advanced the candidatures of Yelchenko, Kapto, Korniyenko, and Masol.

Mykola Samilyk, first secretary of the Kirovograd Party obkom, supported the candidature of Volodymyr Ivashko and called upon those present to vote for him.

The next to speak was Stefaniya Tyslychka, collective farm chairman from Ternopol Oblast. She said that Volodymyr Ivashko has acquired good life experience. He knows well the state of affairs of republic, industry and agriculture and (?others persons) like his modesty, knowledge and ability to get along with people. He is always in the midst of people. People talk with him honestly, without hiding the truth, no matter how bitter it may be. Because of the honest talk, he is ready to help and ready to support even in the most complicated situations, said Stefaniya Kyslychka. And today these circumstances are quite complicated. Hearing and reading the speeches of Volodymyr Ivashko, I have come to the conclusion that he is a bold person with analythical mind and very socialble man. And this type of leader our republic needs and perestroyka in general.

On behalf of the farmers of my village I pass on to Voldoymyr Ivashko a request to take the best that was accomplished by his predecessors, said Stefaniya Tyslychka.

Fifteen people expressed the wish to speak, ten had taken the floor. And a proposal was voiced to stop the discussion of the candidatures. As a result of the exchange of views, four candidates rejected their nominations and their names were not included on the ballot. As a result of the secret voting for two candidates, Gurenko and Ivashko, Voldoymyr Ivashko received 136 votes against 43 and was elected first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine Central Committee.

Theological Seminary Opens in Ukraine

LD0510001789 Moscow TASS in English 1857 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Kiev October 4 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Stanislav Volnyansky:

A procession followed by the divine service marked the opening today of a theological seminary in Kiev, capital of the Soviet Ukraine.

The seminary is located on the property, part of the Kiev-Pechera Historic and Cultural Preserve, that the republican government gave back to the Russian Orthodox Church a year ago in commemoration of the millennium of the baptism of Russia.

Vicar Ionafan of the Kiev eparchy who is also bishop of Pereyaslav-Khmelnitsky, said: "It is a special occasion to see the spirit of ecclesiastical enlightenment return to the famous lavra (monastery) where outstanding clerics and public figures have worked in different periods since olden times".

The seminary's inspector Archimandrite Yelevfery, who is the overseer of the Kiev-Pechera monastery, told TASS that the secondary theological school will offer its students a four-year programme.

The republican government and the municipal authorities helped the Russian Orthodox Church establish the new seminary, he stressed, which is undoubtedly a result of perestroyka and of new relations between the church and the state.

The seminary will teach Ukrainian language and literature. Biblical history will be taught in Ukrainian.

Moldavian Strike Leader Interviewed

PM0510094589 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 21 Sep 89 p 7

[ATEM correspondent report: "It is For Labor Collectives To Say"]

[Text] Our republic welcomed with great interest the report "on the party's nationalities policy under present conditions" delivered by M.S. Gorbachev at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum. It was awaited impatiently in the labor collectives taking part in the strikes. Yesterday an ATEM correspondent visited the united republican strike committee and asked its cochairman, P. Skripnichenko, to answer these questions.

"We all welcomed the report with satisfaction," he said. "It gave a detailed analysis of the problems which the strike participants have put forward. I think that the report's provisions on ways of improving national relations and strengthening our federation accord with the aspirations of all working people of the Soviet Union. We have always stressed that we advocate the Soviet peoples' indestructible and strong alliance.

"On familiarizing ourselves with the analysis of the situation in regions of the country where a complex situation has taken shape, we realized that we had been listened to and that the questions we had raised will be considered in elaborating corresponding party and government decisions. This was also stressed in the report, which states that the Plenum discusses the overall approach toward urgent problems and the adoption of specific decisions is the prerogative of the supreme organs of state power.

"In particular we welcome the proposal regarding the expediency of giving the Russian language the status of the general state language over the entire USSR. The package of strikers' demands and the decisions of the sessions of a number of the republic's city soviets stress that Moldavian and Russian must have equal rights in all spheres of life. And if the 13th session of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet had enshrined the provision that Russian as the language of interethnic communication has equal rights with the state language, the strikes would have been halted.

"As is well known, the republican and regional strike committees, in response to M.S. Gorbachev's request, decided to suspend the strikes. Indeed, in the future we must use political methods and only, if they do not help, retain the right to resume the strike. Some regions have completely stopped the strike. But it is continuing in a number of cities at some enterprises.

"An important decision was worked out today at the sitting of the strike committee at the plant named for S.M. Kirov. It stresses that inasmuch as the CPSU Central Committee plenum has given a clear assessment of the situation in the country and of problems of interethnic and language relations and inasmuch as we are awaiting a USSR Supreme Soviet session which we hope will also examine the sociopolitical situation in the country and in particular in Moldavia, it is proposed to suspend the strike as of 26 September.

"The strike committees agree with M.S. Gorbachev's words to the effect that all those who enjoy influence on people's minds should do everything in their power to put an end to the dangerous vortex of mutual recriminations, claims, and ultimatums. We are performing explanatory work, but not all labor collectives have agreed with our decision. And the final say as to whether to begin, continue, or end a strike belongs to the labor collectives.

"At today's session of the united republican strike committee we confirmed our position regarding the need to suspend the strike and we again urge the strikers to heed us and the decision of the strike committee of the Kirov plant.

"We realize that our output is awaited in all parts of the country and abroad. From my viewpoint it is in practice unrealistic to make up the losses incurred during the month of strikes. But if the strikers' demands are satisfied they are prepared to work without days off, in three shifts, and to use every opportunity to make up for what has been lost.

"Strikes are an extreme measure. They cause irreparable economic damage. That is why we are in favor in the future, in M.S. Gorbachev's words, of discussing the problems which have accumulated in a tactful, gentle, respectful and patient manner, of finding, with a consideration for the opinions and feelings of all society, the optimum solution for difficult nationalities problems," P. Skripnichenko said in conclusion.

Inaction Over Chernobyl Contamination Criticized

PM0410102189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Sep 89 p 2

[Special correspondent Yu. Kulibaba dispatch: "Radiation on Order"]

[Text] Zhitomir Oblast—An old lady was carrying two pails full of mushrooms, large and beautiful ones, like a picture and with no worms—which "have a nose for

radiation"—from a forest where the pointer of the radiation monitor was darting about like mad.

I asked the driver to stop the car, wishing to warn the old lady about the danger, but Valentin Semyenovich Budko, first secretary of Narodichskiy Rayon party committee [raykom], "calmed me down":

"She understands all that, and of course she will not eat the poison: The mushrooms will go to Kiev or Odessa, and you'll buy them at a market or eat them in a restaurant."

You can understand the old lady. On R30 of "grave money," as the locals have named the traditional benefit—and a meager pension, she cannot afford to live on "clean" produce from the stores. So she is forced to eat the radioactive "free gifts" herself or poison others with them. Her crime is forced on her; it is caused by poverty.

Our country cannot be called rich either, but altogether we are richer than that old lady, therefore there are no words to describe such documents as this:

"Figures for the sale of output by the Narodichskiy Rayon Union of Consumer Trade Cooperatives 'Koopzagotprom' 1986 through 1988:

"In 1986, 1.3 tonnes of dried mushrooms were sent to Zaporozhye Oblast; in 1987, 1.3 tonnes were sent to Zaporozhye Oblast and 1.7 to Crimean Oblast; while in 1988 2.8 tonnes were sent to Zaporozhye and 6.6 tonnes went to Krasnodar Kray."

Further on is the distribution of potatoes, vegetables, eggs, and meat. On the list of customers are Zaporozhye, Donetsk, Kherson, Dnepropetrovsk, Kirovograd, Crimean, Nikolayev, Moscow, and Leningrad Oblasts, the Karelian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, and Central Asian republics.

You get the impression that someone has decided to spread the Chernobyl misfortune to all the country's citizens, that all we need to do now is to introduce coupons so that everyone can get it, and start applying more active forms of incentives for above-plan production of radiation misery.

At the moment preference is given to moral incentives. Recently Narodichskiy Rayon was rewarded with a challenge red banner for achieving the best results in the oblast socialist competition among cattle breeders in the first half of 1989. On the basis of the results of the winter period and the first half of this year, the rayon was also nominated for "Winner of the All-Union Socialist Competition" for increasing stockraising procurements. Why did they deserve this? In the first 9 months of 1989 they produced, for example, over 1,000 tonnes of meat more than in the previous year. The raykom first secretary told me this, and the documents provided the additional information: In 1986-1988 some 9,023 tonnes of grain (102 percent of the plan); 83,448 tonnes of potatoes (111 percent); 4,266 tonnes of vegetables (133 percent); 5,938,000 eggs (109 percent); 79,820 tonnes of milk (123 percent); and 14,688 tonnes of meat (121 percent) were sold to the state.

Milk is sent to the milk bottling combine, but processing still does not make the gifts of Chernobyl good for the health. Meat is also dispatched from the danger zone.

It sometimes happens that the pollution is one or even two orders of magnitude above the "normal" level. In such cases livestock is sent back. Partially. Often it is then sent back again to the meat combine. The second time, as a rule, it is accepted. According to radiation monitoring figures, radioactive contamination in milk on all 22 Narodichskiy Rayon farms inspected, was higher than the norm throughout July and August 1989. On some farms it was 10-12 times the norm. Grain is also over the limit, sometimes 3 or 4 times. Potatoes are less affected, but where is the guarantee that these norms, which were adopted provisionally and are several times higher than the civilian dose limits, are correct? On whom have they been tested? Narodichskiy inhabitants have been eating produce grown in their own kitchen gardens for 3 years.

The Ukrainian Council of Ministers and party organs are not in a hurry to resettle people away from the danger zone. Moreover, an unprecedented rate of construction has recently gotten under way in Narodichskiy Rayon. Already R8.5 million have been thrown to the winds, and brand-new homes and the semidilapidated frames of school buildings stand in dying villages as monuments to the callousness and cruelty which were elevated to the rank of state policy. Instead of recognizing that the rayon is a totally polluted territory according to official norms, they started dividing it into zones according to levels of "purity."

The first to emerge from the state of criminal contemplation was the Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol]. The day after Anatoliy Matviyenko was elected first secretary of the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee, he went to Narodichi, and the day after, he started carrying out his promises: A fund was set up to give assistance to children. A total of R250,000 was transferred from the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee budget to account No 700647 at the Zhitomir branch of the USSR Bank for Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development. Resources are also coming in from oblast and rayon Komsomol committees and from the "primary organizations." Conditions have been created for temporary accommodation for parents and children from the danger zones in the Komsomol Central Committee's "Yunost" tourist camp and the republican "Molodaya Gvardiya" pioneer camp.

Commission Completes Enquiries 29 Sep

PM0310140789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 89 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "At the Government Commission for the Elimination of the Consequences of the Accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station (AES)"]

[Text] Peripatetic sessions of the government commission dealing with the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES (chairman V.Kh. Doguzhiyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers) were held between 26 July and 13 September in the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic's [SSR] Gomel and Mogilev Oblasts, the Ukrainian SSR's Kiev and Zhitomir Oblasts, and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic's [RSFSR] Bryansk Oblast. Taking part in the commission's work were leaders of USSR ministries and departments, local party, soviet, and economic organs, and representatives of the public.

The commission's attention centered on the solution of questions connected with the implementation of new measures and measures drawn up earlier to protect the health of the population living in areas subjected to radioactive contamination as a result of the Chernobyl accident. It was noted that the practical implementation of protective measures and medical and preventive treatment has made it possible to create conditions in which the sum total of individual radiation doses received by people during 1986-1988 did not exceed the permissible limit approved by the USSR Ministry of Health for that period. It is expected that in 1989, this dosage will also be considerably below the permissible limit.

At the same time, in many of the rayons which were subjected to radioactive contamination there are not enough doctors or mid-level medical staff. The turnover of these cadres is high and the material and technical base of health care is poor. There is a shortage of medicines and certain types of medical equipment. The rise in the incidence of certain common diseases among the population of these areas is not being adequately analyzed.

The government commission has instructed the USSR Ministry of Health and the Councils of Ministers of the RSFSR, Ukrainian SSR, and Belorussian SSR to adopt measures to ensure full staffing of health care insitutions in the affected areas and their provision with the lacking medical equipment and instruments, medicines, and pharmaceuticals, and it has asked the USSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan] to find the means necessary to purchase the special medical apparatus that is needed.

Supplies to the population of food products, fuel, soap, and detergents brought in from other areas to these rayons are subject to disruptions. Deliveries of consumer durables including refrigerators, washing machines, and vacuum cleaners to the population are insufficient. The RSFSR, Belorussian SSR, and Ukrainian SSR Agroindustrial Committees [Agroproms] have slackened their supervision of the implementation of measures which make it possible to obtain quality agricultural produce on "contaminated" land and private plots.

Appropriate instructions concerning these questions have been issued.

The USSR Civil Defense has been instructed to step up decontamination operations in these areas and to enhance their effectiveness. The attention of the RSFSR, Belorussian SSR, and Ukrainian SSR Councils of Ministers has been drawn to the fact that the effectiveness of decontamination operations can be considerably enhanced if they are carried out in conjunction with the asphalting of roads, the tidying up of the terrain, and the implementation of the necessary land reclamation measures around population centers. The oblast soviet executive committees in the aforementioned oblasts have been instructed to give assistance to civil defense subunits by providing them with certain types of earthmoving equipment and to step up supervision of the implementation and acceptance of decontamination work carried out with widespread participation.

The commission noted the nonavailability to the population of personal radiation meters and acknowledged a statement of the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation and the Nuclear Industry (Deputy Minister Comrade Tychkov) to the effect that 1,500 such meters will be produced before the end of the current year and around 100,000 in 1990.

The government commission examined questions connected with the preparations under way locally for the resettlement in 1989-1993 (in accordance with an agreed list) of the inhabitants of individual population centers where the implementation of decontamination and land reclamation measures does not meet the requirements laid down by the USSR Ministry of Health to ensure that the radiation dosage absorbed by people in the course of their lives does not exceed the health safety limit. It was noted that in a number of places there are delays in implementing USSR Council of Ministers Instruction No. 912 of 24 May 1989 on this question. The commission has instructed RSFSR, Belorussian SSR, and Ukrainian SSR Councils of Ministers and local organ leaders to step up their efforts to ensure the resettlement of citizens from these population centers and recommended that families with children be given priority.

At Chernobyl the government commission examined questions connected with ensuring the safe operation of the Chernobyl AES, including the necessary monitoring of the safety of the "entombment" housing the stricken reactor of the No. 4 unit. Instructions have also been issued to union ministries and the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers on the implementation of further work in the 30km zone around the Chernobyl AES, primarily with a view to preventing environmental pollution. At Slavutich city the commission examined progress in the construction of the city.

At the end of August the government commission received a draft of the Belorussian state program for the elimination in 1990-1995 of the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES, drawn up by the government of the republic, which is currently, in accordance with an instruction from N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, being elaborated by central economic organs, interested USSR ministries and departments, and the USSR Academy of Sciences. The

draft program provides for additional measures to protect the health and improve the material and social conditions and day-to-day amenities of the population living on the territory which was affected by radioactive contamination, including the resettlement of the inhabitants of individual population centers and construction of housing, health care facilities, schools, and so forth.

Similar programs are being drawn up in the RSFSR and the Ukrainian SSR and are to be submitted to the government commission by 10 October at the latest.

With a view to enhancing health protection and improving material conditions for the population in rayons which were affected by radioactive contamination, the government commission, having thoroughly acquainted itself with the situation at local level, is now elaborating proposals of the RSFSR, Belorussian SSR, and Ukrainian SSR Councils of Ministers on granting the inhabitants of these rayons a number of additional benefits and advantages concerning longer vacations for working people, maternity leave, part-paid child care leave, better labor remuneration conditions, bigger pensions and old-age and disability benefits, higher child allowances for low-income families, and other questions.

It is planned to discuss these questions at a session of the government commission attended by interested ministries and departments, the AUCCTU, and union republic Councils of Ministers to be held 5 October, and to submit its proposals to the USSR Government.

Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Session Set for 3 Nov

LD0510092289 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Presidium issued a decree today to convene a session of the Supreme Soviet in a month's time, on 3d November. The session is to debate three issues: The Lithuanian Citizenship Bill; the Referendum Bill; and the Bill on Elections to Lithuania's local Soviets of People's Deputies. The first two bills were considered at the previous session but were postponed. The bills on citizenship and referendum have been largely improved and submitted to the public for further discussion.

Let me remind you here that the Supreme Soviet has decided to adopt those two especially important and interrelated laws together. As to the law on elections to the local soviets, it should not present any bigger problem, though it's to be considered for the first time. A heated debate may arise concerning the date of the elections, since the preliminary term set is May, 1990, demanding an extension of the powers of the current soviets until that time.

The elections to the Supreme Soviet have been also postponed to the latest date possible—24th February. Those decisions, as well as the lack of resolve in passing other decrees much awaited by Lithuania, aroused the public's dissatisfaction with the past session.

Sajudis Leader Addresses Political Objectives

AU0310173789 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 3 Oct 89 p 4

[Interview with Virgil Cepaytis, general secretary of Sajudis, the Lithuanian Restructuring Movement, by Burkhard Bischof in Austria: "What Lithuania's 'Sajudis' Is Striving For: Main Objective Is Independence; 'Popular Movement Along Gorbachev's Line'"—date not given]

[Text] DIE PRESSE: Since the end of August, Soviet politicians and the central USSR media have been vehemently criticizing the independence efforts in the Baltic states. Thereupon Lithuanian representatives accused the Moscow press of "returning to the old methods." Has the situation calmed down in the meantime?

Virgil Cepaytis: Moscow's whole reaction to our human chain on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the signing of the Hitler-Stalin Pact constituted an attempt to blackmail and frighten the Baltic republics. Our clear answer, above all our telegram to UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, has in its turn frightened Moscow. Meanwhile, the attacks on the Baltic republics in the central press have been virtually put to an end, and also there were not any attacks at the latest plenary session of the CPSU Central Committee.

DIE PRESSE: In an interview, Lithuania's Communist Party leader Algirdas Brazauskas did not rule out the military suppression of the Baltic independence movements. Do you also see such a danger?

Cepaytis: No, because a military intervention would destroy the positive image of the Soviet Union built by Gorbachev. This would be the end of "Gorbimania" throughout the whole world. Considering all of this in a wider context, our activities are also not directed against Gorbachev's line. The masses in the whole of the Soviet Union have started the fight against the bureaucratic apparatus under our influence. This is also desired by Gorbachev.

DIE PRESSE: The West has the impression that, with its demands, "Sajudis" is actually driving the Lithuanian Communist Party forward.

Cepaytis: That impression is correct. Formerly it always took the Lithuanian Communist Party 4-6 months to adopt our positions, but meanwhile it reacts immediately. At present, however, it is exposed to strong pressure from the CPSU headquarters, therefore it is increasingly opposing our demands.

DIE PRESSE: In Lithuania there are also problems with the Russian and, above all, the Polish minority. Does the Lithuanian leadership, but also "Sajudis," not make major mistakes if they deny rights to these minorities?

Cepaytis: I do not believe that we have made serious mistakes so far. However, we have perhaps dedicated too

little attention to the minorities. As regards the Polish minority, we believe that its present leadership is still manipulated by Moscow. However, there is currently the tendency that the moderates will reach the top, and we can talk to them. It is certainly not true that the Poles are persecuted in Lithuania.

It is significant that in all regions in which national movements are being formed countermovements of other national minorities are also being established. I believe that the Russian "interfronts" ["interfronten"] primarily represent the interests of the bureaucratic apparatus.

DIE PRESSE: Recently the "United Soviet of Russia," which is to support the Russian minorities in the republics of the Union in their struggle against the national independence movements, was established in Moscow. Do you see a danger in this development?

Cepaytis: This is the general association of the "interfronts." It is a creation of the bureaucratic apparatus which fights against perestroyka in the whole of the Soviet Union. The documents of the constituent congress call, for example, for the "fight against the alliance of Zionists," which shows from what direction all of this comes. Market economy also belongs to the hostile images of the "United Soviet of Russia." Thus, it is not only a danger for the national independence movements, but above all for Gorbachev himself.

DIE PRESSE: What are the most important concerns of "Sajudis"?

Cepaytis: Our main objective is to reach independence. How long it will take to achieve this depends on many factors. The final purpose of our plan is a demilitarized zone in Europe. Of course, an independent Lithuania will always have ties with its big neighbor, the Soviet Union, however, we ourselves want to decide on the type of relations that we will have.

Alternative Trade Union Set Up in Latvia

PM2709161989 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 12 Sep 89 p 3

[Yu. Chernyavskiy report: "Under What Banner Will the Latvian Workers Union March?"]

[Text] Yet another "star" has appeared in the republic's political firmament—the Latvian Workers Union [LWU]. Recently we have become only too accustomed to the appearance of new "informal" organizations, but the congress which was held in the republican Political Enlightenment House last weekend is, in my view, an event meriting close attention. The workers' opinion must be heeded more than any other, and it is very hard to disagree with what was said by V. Starovoytov, founder member of the LWU and fitter-instrument maker at the production association of the Latvian Republican Society of Anglers and Hunters Central Council: "If we're doing well, you'll also do well." He was addressing the journalists invited to to the congress, but I think that what he said applies to us all.

It is, of course, arguable whether the newly founded LWU has chosen the correct path for participating in perestroyka processes by declaring itself an independent trade union association as an alternative to the existing "state" trade unions, or whether it would have been more expedient for the workers to recapture existing trade union structures from the bureaucratic apparatus. But this, as the saying goes, is a secondary matter. The main point is that workers representing many labor collectives expressed readiness to tackle by themselves the renewal of their own life, which is far from easy. Let us wish them success in this venture.

At the same time, the creation of the LWU along lines similar to the Polish "Solidarity" must ring alarm bells for trade union functionaries and republican trade union leaders. It was their inability and unwillingness to defend the workers' interests that drove the latter to organize an alternative trade union association. The participants in the congress expressed their grievances not very diplomatically but frankly to Ya. Nesaule, secretary of the Latvian Republican Council of Trade Unions [LRCTU], who had mounted the rostrum. No way would I have changed places with him at that moment! Never mind the irony with which many of those assembled greeted the address by the LRCTU Presidium to the republican government about the decline in the population's living standards, which was published by last Sunday's newspapers, perceiving it as nothing more than a "response" to the LWU's creation. Really, is there anyone among our newspaper's readers who seriously expects this document to produce more goods on the store shelves?!

Here is an almost verbatim quotation of the demands presented to the republic's Supreme Soviet by the LWU in its resolution:

To put an end to unjustified increases in the prices of foodstuffs, goods, and services; to determine a realistic minimum living wage and to urgently help those members of the population who, as a result of inflation, find themselves below the poverty line; to define a wage growth index dependent on prices; sick pay to be based on average earnings regardless of length of employment; to institute paid leave of 24 working days and a 40-hour workweek; to repeal the mandatory 2-month notice of termination; to close down civil defense committees and military registration desks at enterprises; to organize economic and legal education courses for workers.

The congress participants also demanded that order finally be imposed in the sale of alcoholic beverages, that their prices be reduced, and that the waiting lines, which are an insult to human dignity, be eliminated. Never mind the grievances and worries of workers in every specific enterprise. Maybe the creation of an alternative trade union association will at least encourage the "official" trade unions to take more decisive actions and, as

A. Dambis, the republic's famous leader of a construction workers' team, put it, will become "a generator of better work" for them?

The congress which was held issued yet another alarming warning to party organizations. The bolshevik party was created as an organization of the working class and rallied its vanguard, and this is why it emerged victorious. The fact that some workers wishing to actively participate in perestroyka did not apply to the party committee for admission but created their own union, even though it is called an intertrade union, and found other ideologists for themselves, must prompt the most serious reflection among Communists. Nor has the Latvian Communist Party's prestige been boosted by the fact that none of the republic's top party leaders deemed it necessary to appear at the congress and say a few words. It seemed to me that those assembled there would have sincerely wished this.

At the very start of the congress, its organizers announced their refusal to discuss interethnic problems in order to create the best possible conditions for rallying the republic's workers in the struggle for class interests. I think that this approach predetermined the joint work done by delegates. I even sinned by thinking that this was finally the beginning of the consolidation of healthy forces of which so much is said but for which so little is done. But alas... The standard resolution "angrily condemning" the recent "provocative" CPSU Central Committee statement on the Baltic republics containing "a threat to the civilian population," as well as an attack on the central press were hastily adopted. A pity!

And what was the meaning of the metamorphosis which affected the stage props? On the 1st day of the congress, those assembled gathered beneath a red banner whose color, as the organizers explained, "coincides with the colors of the flag of the international workers movement and of the Latvian national flag," but by about noon on the 2d day someone had quietly replaced it, in its place of honor, with a different banner—with a white strip running along the middle. A trivial detail, unworthy of attention? Or an important sign? It is quite possible that even the union's founders are no longer able to answer the question I have used as a headline to this article. We won't go into guesswork. But one thing is obvious. If the LWU takes its autonomous path in a calm proletarian fashion and without hysteria, guided not by obliging prompts but by class interests and responsibility for the future of the republic and the country, there can be no doubt that it will mature into an influential force capable of becoming a stabilizing factor in Latvia's political life. But the new organization also runs the danger of becoming nothing but a tool in someone else's hands. Time will tell.

I personally have faith in the working class.

Estonia's Ryuytel Comments on CPSU Plenum

PM0310104589 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 22 Sep 89 p 1

[ETA special correspondent V. Tsion dispatch, incorporating interview with A. Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium, given in Moscow on 20 September: "The Work Is Finished, the Work Continues"]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Sep—And so, the CPSU Central Committee plenum ended its work late this evening.

It was a tense day for Estonian journalists in the permanent mission offices. Events were developing somewhere nearby, but you could not participate in them or even witness them. The only thing left to do was to catch snippets of information on events from the radio, exchange brief rejoinders, and wait. Wait for the day's work at the plenum to finish, and for the republic's leaders to get back to the hospitable house in Sobinovskiy and, despite their tiredness, to spare some time to share their thoughts, impressions, and evaluations with journalists....

At 1830 hours on that day, just as on the day before, our group of reporters took up positions at the ceremonial entrance to the permanent mission, expecting that the plenum would end its work within the next half-hour and the first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee would comment on its results. But this time we had to wait longer. Finally, about 1 and ½ hours later, a black "Volga" pulled up and stopped, keeping the engine running. Indrek Toome, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, arrived and announced that the plenum had... adjourned briefly, that it would resume its work in 15 minutes' time, and nobody knew when it would finish because another 16 people had expressed a wish to speak, while he himself had rushed to the permanent mission to take care of the baggage because, in all likelihood, he would have to drive straight from the Kremlin to the airport to catch the last flight to Tallinn. (Anticipating events, let me say that this is exactly what happened: Both V. Vyalyas and I. Toome flew home without calling at the permanent mission.)

Arnold Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, got back from the plenum only about 2200 hours. But despite the late hour and his obvious tiredness, he consented to a brief interview with your ETA correspondent. Here follows a transcript of the interview.

Correspondent: How would you comment on the results of the CPSU Central Committee plenum which has just ended?

A. Ryuytel: I think that the plenum will become a serious stage in our society's development. It laid even firmer foundations for perestroyka. This would be my brief summary.

After all, the nationalities question is becoming increasingly acute almost everywhere in the country. Here we have a multitude of unsolved problems. Problems like, for example, the lamentable results of the Stalin times and the period of stagnation, when we simply failed to pay sufficient attention to this question or altogether believed that the nationalities question was nonexistent in our country. And even if it had existed, it had already been solved. But when we started to seriously discuss this topic, it emerged that we were dealing with one of the most complex and unresolved questions.

Correspondent: In your view, how will the plenum's results impact on the course of perestroyka in our republic?

A. Ryuytel: I would say that the plenum's results are perhaps of greater importance for the country because this was the first time the question of the future of smaller peoples was so seriously raised. Groups of northern ethnic minorities and peoples which were repressed in their entirety were singled out. It is for them that the plenum's results will be of tremendous importance because they are already on the brink of departure from history's arena. Their native language is being forgotten, it is not studied in schools, and even if there are some people who remember it, they live deep in the middle of nowhere. These peoples' culture has thus been gradually extinguished. And yet it is part of the culture of mankind, which inhabits not only our own country. This is the most important point.

The plenum that has just ended has a somewhat different significance for our republic. We have our own written language which is the bearer of culture and of our own language. Thus, we do not face the problems of small ethnic groups. Our problems are of a different order. Let me first single out the fact that the last 2-3 decades have seen very serious structural changes in national composition. Whereas, for example, the indigenous nationality represented 92 percent of the population in Estonia back in 1940, now they account for only 60 percent. All this has happened within a single generation's lifetime. Of course, such sharp changes in national structure engendered numerous contradictions. This is because a proportion of the newcomers did not adapt to the new conditions, while the indigenous population was unable to accept the fast and sharp changes necessitated by the presence of the newcomers. This was accompanied by the development of industry, which was primarily extensive and produced serious economic consequences which are certainly having an effect on the present and future generations. In these conditions, the nationalities question was raised with unprecedented urgency.

Therefore, we must pay utmost attention to all these problems, be frank, tell nothing but the truth, and seek ways to eliminate tendencies which worry people, be they members of the indigenous population or residents who have already settled in Estonia. The CPSU Central Committee plenum's final documents go some way toward solving these problems as well.

Correspondent: Thank you. But I do have one question concerning you personally. How do you explain the fact that our first secretary and Council of Ministers chairman are already on their way to Tallinn, while you, the republic's president, are still in Moscow?

A. Ryuytel: A sitting of the CPSU Auditing Commission, of which I am a member, is scheduled for tomorrow. There is also a sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium which will discuss very serious questions associated with the discussion of laws which the USSR Supreme Soviet intends to adopt already this year. There are about 50 of these laws.

Correspondent: Now it is all clear. I don't think I have any right to detain you any longer. Once more, thank you for the interview.

Historians Discuss Nationality Draft Platform

18300287b Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 19 Sep 89 p 3

[Article by O. Shkaratan, doctor of historical sciences, head scientific associate of the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and L. Perepelkin, candidate of historical sciences: "The Time for Choosing a Path"]

[Text] Questions of national relations have acquired a growing significance in the discussion of the past, present, and future of our homeland. It is typical that last year as soon as the revolutionary essence of perestroyka began to manifest itself more and more clearly, the apparent unity of various social forces disappeared, especially in the national issue. The viewpoints presented in the press express two approaches. Proponents of the first assume that on the whole the Soviet model of organization of national life is quite acceptable, and perestroyka should consist only in rectifying the distortions that have accumulated. Arguments against them are given by proponents of the second approach, with whom the authors of this article agree. We are convinced that with the so-called administrative-command system it was impossible for a truly democratic multinational state to be formed and, consequently, the very foundations of the structure of the union is in need of truly revolutionary changes.

From these positions we carefully studied the draft platform of the CPSU "The Party National Policy Under Modern Conditions." We fully agree with the statement of the problem concerning the property of the republics, the concern with the fate of the Russian Federation, and the long-awaited proposals to develop and conclude a new union agreement. And especially with the proclaimed course toward a radical reorganization of the national-state structure. It would seem that the draft does not elucidate clearly enough the rights of the republics and national autonomies, the principles for distribution of functions between the union and republic power organs, or the status of the republic communist

parties, and it evaluates the history of the union simplistically. We assume that the draft platform of the CPSU is an appeal for compromise of various sociopolitical forces which are the only ones capable of bringing the country out of the impasse of interethnic conflicts.

We are not little children and we are well aware how disturbed things are in the country now. We understand that we need time and an open dialogue of all forces in order to heal old wounds. We understand also how valuable the unity of the soviets' peoples is. But we know equally well aware that it is not 1920 but almost 1990 and that in three-quarters of a century the world has changed and we and our country have changed. Then, in the 1920's, the world of colonial empires stood out in contrast to the first union state in history built on the ideas of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. But today we are comparing good and bad in our own life, in the structure of our country, with a system of national states into which mankind has been transformed. Therefore much which even yesterday seemed positive today raises doubts and even conflicts. The rates of the people's economic growth, their cultural development, their quality of life, and many other things show that there is no way we can now serve as a model, an example of the best path of national progress. Let us recall the losses of peoples and republics on this path: the destruction of certain groups of the national intelligentsia and, in many cases, the peasants, the breach of national traditions, the loss of skills of fruitful and effective labor, and many other things about which popular and specialized publications are now clamoring.

The cause of this was found long ago. It lies in the administrative-command system, in the lack of a civil society, in the state takeover of property and spiritual life, and the state principles that replaced the authentically socialistic ones. And when speaking about the crisis condition of the economy, the serious ecological situation, and the low standard of living, this explanation is generally recognized. But all one need do is turn to interethnic relations and the national-state structure of the USSR and everything changes. The formulations become extremely "delicate" and all the experience is reduced to friendship and mutual assistance, a kind of good humor of a holiday celebration.

It has literally been only in the past year or year and a half that we have had to recognize something under the pressure of tragic events: and the sad fate of the peoples "punished" by the "great leader" and the pernicious influence of "item 5" of the questionnaire on the fate of people and the far from federal nature of the organization of economic life. All one need do is delve into the problems and one can see clearly that we have received as our heritage the administrative system or, more precisely, a "stateocracy." It has long been time to get rid of this heritage.

But let us emphasize that as long as the current Constitution is in effect, as long as laws are not repealed and are still in effect, they must be obeyed by everyone at all times unless we want to cast ourselves into the growing avalanche of national tragedies and disasters. But when, predicting the future, people again and again write about documents of the totalitarian period, we are not so much afraid as embarrassed for them. If in the name of peace and quiet a country that has lost millions of its citizens during nonwar years must observe any laws, even outdated ones, then it is necessary to force legislation for the sake of justice in the future. And the conservative part of the apparatus of the central departments is resisting this.

And at the same time the press is essentially imposing on us a discussion which leads away from the real problems of the union. Here is an example. It was long ago shown and proved that the federative structure in the country was not in keeping either with academic writings or with Leninist testaments. There was a unified state with an economy completely under the control of the center and with the rights of the communist parties of the republics, according to the CPSU Regulations, equal to the rights of the oblast organizations of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. And when like a compressed spring the mass national movements in certain republics, especially the Baltic republics, seemed to exceed the limits of the understanding of federalism accepted in world practice, many influential forces and groups in the country began immediately to camouflage their adherence to the old and outdated type of national-state structure with quotations from the works of V.I. Lenin and pages from the encyclopedia regarding federalism. And, of course, with articles and paragraphs from the 1977 Constitution, the same one which, having proclaimed the rights of the peoples and citizens, was not backed up with a system of legislative acts.

...Of course, these necessary economic transformations are based on economic independence of enterprises, economic sovereignty of the republics, self-management of the local areas and settlements, the development of cooperatives, and a diversity of forms of ownership (including personal and, within certain limits, private). But one must also keep in mind that on the scale of the union, with the immense socioeconomic disparities among republics, it will not be easy to introduce all this at the same time. And there is no need to do it all the same way. For what difference does it make, for example, that in the Baltic republics the proportion of the shadow economy is many times less than in other republics? Obviously, the economic sovereignty of the republics, which is called—not very precisely—republic economic accountability, will serve to benefit not only the instigators, but also the rest of the republics and the entire union.

When discussing interethnic ties certain scholars and commentators resort to the juxtaposition of confederation and federation. As we know, the boundary between these concepts is determined by the possibility or impossibility of getting out of the state union (this possibility was envisioned for all republics from the moment of the formation of the USSR). Beyond this the various state unions comprise a set of variants which cannot be

described by these two terms. So we must construct our own multinational union, but we still must construct it in our own way and not use anybody else's variant, for its composition is not the same as that of other unions and both the history of its formation and its goals are different. In our union we have our "sore spots" related to the history of the inclusion of several peoples in its composition and the existence of peoples whose formation and development of national self-awareness occurred during the years of Soviet power. And this means that we must rethink many things from the beginning and establish through new interrepublic agreements just as is suggested by the draft CPSU platform on ethnic relations.

We are personally convinced that there is not a single people in the country which now stands to gain from seceding from it. We shall engage in polemics with proponents of the opposing viewpoint. But whether or not to be in the union, the right to decide this issue at any stage belongs to the people themselves. And the relationship to the union under conditions of the growth by leaps and bounds of national claims and the clear awareness of the specific nature of our own destiny follow directly from how democratic its construction was.

As always in cases like this, the most important question is what to do. It seems that the most reasonable things have already been discussed in the press. First of all, it is necessary to change relations among the national-state units of the USSR that are inherent in a unitary state into horizontal-democratic relations of an alliance type. And the republics, in turn, must become truly sovereign and delegate to the union only the functions that really must be delegated: the substantiation of general prospects for development, the accumulation of funds for extreme situations, the implementation of a general currency policy, defense, foreign affairs, and so forth. The union parliamentary organs must provide for effective coordination of republic interests on the basis of a consensus of all republics. We assume that certain differences are also possible in the legislation of the republics: depending on national political traditions and the peculiarities of the population's culture. These differences do not preclude common goals and basic directions for development.

The movement in this direction has already begun and we are speaking more about making sure it continues in a deliberate way and without separatism, and that it does not cause destabilization both within the republics and in interrepublic relations. It is necessary for this transitional period to be efficiently regulated both in terms of its nature and in terms of the time periods; this, perhaps, is the most important task of the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet. One can foresee the appearance of various forms of relations between the republics and the center. And, of course, it should be emphasized once again that it is necessary for the changeover to the new principles and forms of interrelations to be absolutely voluntary. One must assume that consistent movement in this direction will make it possible step by step to remove from the agenda many of the tensions and conflicts which have become a serious obstacle to the transformation of the USSR into a democratic developed state which is truly a common home for the people in the true sense of the word.

Police Official on Crimes Against Foreigners

LD0410154389 Moscow World Service in English 0410 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] About six million foreigners visit the Soviet Union every year. A briefing at the USSR Interior Ministry has highlighted what is being done to ensure their security. The deputy chief of the Moscow Police Force Headquarters at the City Council, Sergey Boloshov said that in Moscow there were quite a few places where foreigners permanently live or work: 114 embassies, 88 apartment buildings taken by the diplomatic corps, 323 foreign firms, and 129 hostels giving accommodation to foreign students. Sergey Boloshov mentioned statistics describing crimes against foreigners.

Crime growth rates are significant, he said. Whereas in the first 9 months of last year 192 crimes were committed, this year there have been 576 offenses. We see this problem as not just a purely criminal one—we are aware of the political background.

Asked what are the main tasks for the Moscow Police for activity in that field, Sergey Boloshov said this:

[Begin recording Boloshov in Russian with superimposed English translation] In the first place, we seek to protect the property of foreigners, because thefts from cars, hostels, and apartments account for the bulk of the crimes committed against them. Our department has a special force—it equips various offices and foreigners' homes with alarm systems. The Interior Ministry has special units to prevent crimes against foreigners. Over the past 2 months they have rendered harmless four gangs responsible for 37 robberies of foreigners. [end recording]

Journalists asked about the plight of the French citizen Garrik Basmajian, a collector of Russian art from Paris who has disappeared in Moscow. So far there has been little progress in the investigation, but every possible measure is being taken to solve the mystery.

'Tragedy' Reported in Workers Settlement

PM0310134589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Oct 89 Second Edition p 8

[Report by PRAVDA nonstaff correspondent M. Atamanenko under the general rubric "Reporters' Teleprinter": "Emergency Situation: There Was Singing and Dancing at the Wedding...."]

[Text] Bryansk, 1 Oct—One man has died, 11 have been wounded, and 8 militiamen have sustained bodily injuries. That is the result of a tragedy in the workers' settlement of Seltso.

...Nothing seemed to herald disaster that day. On the contrary, it began with a joyous event for the workers' settlement—there was a wedding at a local cafe. It was, as a matter of fact, the pro forma cause of the tragedy.

According to eyewitness accounts, a group of young people demanded a "ransom" from the organizers of the wedding. The proprietors expressed natural perplexity at such impudent behavior. A fight began. However, it was rapidly stopped with the help of local militia officials who arrived on the scene.

However, the dissatisfied boozers lay in wait until late that evening for the wedding guests near the Palace of Culture. A brawl broke out once again. The militia had to intervene once more and arrest the four most recalcitrant hooligans. Then the recent "enemies," forgetting their quarrel, and also those who left the Palace of Culture after a disco joined forces and moved against the militia—a total of approximately 150 people. Using bullhorns, law-enforcement officers tried to make the mob see reason. But the mob grew, there were flashes of steel, and rocks began to fly. The militiamen were forced to employ nightsticks. However, that did not help. Some people in the mob cried provocatively: "Smash them! They have only blank cartridges!" Automobiles, including private vehicles, were set alight and began to blaze.

On the approaches to the militia station, the militiamen began to fire into the air and onto the tarmac in front of the attacking mob to restrain them. According to preliminary conclusions, ricocheting bullets in fact caused the death of one of the settlement's female residents who had run to the scene of the fight in alarm for her son (she sustained serious injuries and died in hospital) and wounded some of the mob and also people who were in the vicinity by chance.

Criminal proceedings have been instituted and the identity of approximately 30 people who were actively involved in the disturbances has been established. A small-caliber pistol has been confiscated from one of them. We can now draw some conclusions. The local militia's training for actions under contemporary conditions was not, to put it mildly, up to scratch. Certainly, how could it be otherwise when there are only three people with a higher education at the station. It is in this settlement where half of all offenses involving young people in Bryanskiy Rayon are committed. For instance, the knifing here last fall is still fresh in memory. Almost 1 in 22 residents of the settlement has a record. But the voluntary people's militia did not act firmly. Only after the wedding incident was a worker's detachment set up in a slapdash fashion at the local chemical plant. There are also a great many discrepancies in the social sphere and in organizing people's recreation which, without doubt, take their toll on law and order in the settlement.

Muscovites Clash With Vietnamese Workers

PM0510090189 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Sep 89 p 4

[I. Voyevodin report under the rubric "Rumors and Facts": "About Barricades in a Hostel"]

[Text] Several telephone calls to the editorial office. All about one and the same thing: Tell us what happened in Orekhovo-Borisovo.

The events that took place in the past few days here, in the vicinity of two hostels for Vietnamese workers who have come to the A.I. Likhachev Automobile Plant [ZIL], resembled military operations—reinforced militia units in bulletproof vests, patrol vehicles, and... barricaded buildings, from whose windows bottles and stones fell like rain on the heads of passers-by and militiamen from the cordon. It was a siege, although no one was planning to take the barricades by storm. Anyway, what actually happened?

Official reports are sparing of emotion, but nevertheless they look more than alarming: On the evening of 20 September there was a fight between Soviet youths and Vietnamese workers. The total number of "combatants" was 70. A militiaman was stabbed in the thigh while suppressing the conflict. His attacker was a Vietnamese. The following day toward evening, in full view of militia personnel, two Vietnamese workers approached two random passers-by near the hostel (7, General Belov Street) and stabbed one of them in the abdomen. The wounded man was I. Polyakov, an engineer from "Metrostroy." As the offender was being arrested, a junior inspector of the criminal investigation department, D. Dementyev, was stabbed in the abdomen. The response to his arrest was a shower of empty bottles. Windows of the motorized patrol and mobile group vehicles were smashed.

On 23 September, at one o'clock in the morning, a group of around 100 Vietnamese workers armed with sticks, knives, and metal rods went into the attack against the 142d militia detachment to spring the arrested man. They now moved off from the other hostel, 41, Orekhoviy Passage. Calls to disperse were to no avail. Five militiamen were wounded: one by a metal rod in the chest, another in the head, and so on. The life of one of the militiamen was only saved by his bulletproof vest—he was struck in the shoulder with an axe. The militia used so-called special means—rubber nightsticks. The crowd was dispersed and the offenders arrested. Vietnamese returning to the hostel smashed the windows of seven cars belonging to innocent citizens from neighboring houses.

The morning passed without any bloodshed, although there were attempts to free the arrested people. But the conflict entered a "peaceful" stage—the Vietnamese refused to go to work until the arrested men were freed. After a meeting with staff from the SRV Embassy in

Moscow, the ZIL administration, the militia, and representatives from the prosecutor's office, the Vietnamese agreed to go to work, but continued to make complaints about the militia. The offenders were freed and an investigation is being carried out.

That is the summary of the events. Let us try to work out the causes of what happened.

...Saturday afternoon. Sunshine, the height of the "Indian summer." No. 7, General Belov street. The "Druzhba" hostel for Vietnamese workers. Several people lying on the grass, others busy unloading some boxes from a vehicle that had drawn up. They respond to efforts at conversation by saying that they do not speak Russian. Or French. More or less the same picture formed at 41, Orekhoviy Passage.

What was the general picture? There are around 10,000 Vietnamese citizens working in Moscow at the present time. At ZIL there are 1,600. A contract is signed for 6 years for men and 5 for women, in accordance with an intergovernmental agreement. The Vietnamese study Russian for the first 3 months of their stay in the USSR. According to the testimony of A. Sidorov, chief of the Work with SRV Citizens Department at ZIL, "they become familiar with our laws too, to a certain degree." There are 650,000 Muscovites living in Krasnogvardyeyskiy Rayon, where these two ZIL hostels are located. What the consumer goods situation in the city looks like is well known.... The basis of all the conflicts is the Muscovites' dissatisfaction because, supposedly, "the Vietnamese are buying up all the consumer goods." For example, on 22 September, at the height of the conflict, Vietnamese workers bought up all, the entire, limited supply of shampoo from one department store—two Vietnamese waited in line, and then almost all the inhabitants of one of the hostels joined them.

Here we are entering a sphere which is as delicate as it is painful. SRV citizens working in Moscow enterprises have the right to send home a 10kg parcel every month and one container full of things once a year.... But this is probably not the main thing. It is simply that, according to specialists, there is no such concept in SRV laws as "violating trade regulations." But the foreign workers are on USSR territory and our laws, not foreign laws, apply to them! They first need to be told about these laws, and told about them in detail, at the same time as studying the basics of Russian.

The majority of the Vietnamese citizens living in the ZIL hostels are former officers and men of the Vietnamese Army. Iron discipline reigns in the hostels too—the workers who live here voluntarily "divide up into detachments, which are led by former officers." In spite of this, it is well known in the rayon that at 7, General Belov Street and 41, Orekhoviy Passage you can buy goods in short supply even at night....

During the several days of conflict, sizeable militia forces were drawn up at the hostels, including a special-purpose detachment. Conflicts like this have already occurred in other cities in the USSR where there are foreign workers. But evidently no lessons were learned.

We asked Militia Lieutenant Colonel V. Miklyayev, deputy chief of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee Internal Affairs Main Administration crime prevention service, for his opinion:

"I see the whole reason for what has happened in the fact that the Vietnamese workers are virtually ignorant of our laws and are continuing to live according to the laws of their country. The militia has done everything possible, but the situation must be changed. Who should deal with this? The USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems.

Work of Moscow Special Militia Detachment Outlined

PM2009092989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Sep 89 First Edition p 4

[Correspondent Major V. Kazakov report under the rubric "Emergency Service '02'": "Shield Does Not Distort the Face"; first two paragraphs are KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Excerpts] Today, unfortunately, people frequently argue that the government's measures aimed at stepping up the fight against crime will somehow weaken the democratic foundations of perestroyka and that special militia detachments are being used in the fight against dissidence. Is this so?

Our correspondent visited a battalion of the Moscow Special Militia Detachment and participated in operations to ensure public order in the capital.

When I shared with my colleagues the purpose of this reportage, one of them smiled skeptically: "You will be going to break up rallies..." Quite honestly, I did not know what to reply. I myself knew of the work of the special militia detachment only from newspaper reports and rumors.

"What's this about 'breaking up rallies'?" Militia Colonel D. Ivanov, the detachment's commander, at once put me right. "Why do you journalists always try to portray us as some kind of 'Derzhimordas' [brutish policeman in Gogol's play "The Government Inspector"]? Our duties really do include maintaining order during mass events, including rallies, but this is only a small fraction of our work..." [passage omitted]

On that evening a group from Militia Major V. Kozlov's battalion was working in the environs of Moscow's stations. [passage omitted]

...We drove around the stations with the battalion commander. Groups set to work, and people were arrested. In general, there are all sorts of people among them—people of no fixed abode, drunkards, speculators, thimbleriggers, and fugitive criminals.

"This is what our service is like," V. Kozlov said. "We really don't have enough people. Why not send us the officers and ensigns being axed from the armed forces? We would be only too pleased, and the cause would benefit too."

After visiting other stations, we returned to Kiyevskiy Station.

"Things are quiet today," Vyacheslav Alekseyevich said. But he spoke too soon. A report came over the radio: "Fight at the 'Dobryninskaya' subway, please help." Vehicles sped off to "Dobryninskaya." Help arrived in time, the fight between two groups of teenagers was stopped, and the participants were arrested. In all, during that evening, the special militia detachment staffers delivered approximately 200 offenders to the militia departments.

This means that the likelihood of major and minor trouble in the city was reduced.

The next day another operation: to ensure order at the Luzhniki stadium where "Spartak" and Tbilisi's "Dinamo" were playing. [passage omitted]

The detachment has other duties in addition to these: to arrest armed criminals, fight racketeering, ensure order during rock concerts, patrol the streets, and so forth. Special mention should be made of the detachment's work in ensuring law and order at rallies and demonstrations.

Rallies differ, but if it is a gathering of Democratic Union "figures," you can certainly expect dirty tricks and provocations. The aggressiveness of Democratic Union activists and their provocative way of behaving and speaking are familiar. These people are prepared to blacken everything. While speaking of democracy, they flout it by their actions, incite casual passers-by to take illegal actions, and openly call for the destruction of the socialist system.

Here is a revelation by V. Novodvorskaya, a Democratic Union leader: "The word 'nonviolent,' which we always add to the combination of words 'change of state power,' is in fact a tautology and is addressed to ignorant people..." She goes on to specify: "...This certainly does not mean that I would want to urge the Balts to refrain from armed actions." There is democracy for you! Naturally, given such speeches, I do not think there is any need to dwell in detail on the provocative slogans and appeals which these sham democrats use at their rallies-cum-spectacles. It really does benefit them to portray the militia in the guise of a political nightstick and plastic shield. But the shield itself does not distort the face, just as it does not distort the true picture or the disturbances stage-managed by the Democratic Union. The militia acts not against political views and convictions but against hooligans disrupting public order.

...Three days' work with the detachment's staffers showed the timeliness of and the need for the measures being taken today to resolutely step up the fight against crime in all its manifestations. Society needs a reliable shield, and the people holding it must be sure of your and my support and understanding of the responsible nature of their service.

'Iron' Discipline Needed To Boost Economy

PM0410174689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Oct 89 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Discipline, Order—The Key Condition for Boosting the Economy and Filling the Market With Goods"]

[Text] "When will essential goods at last be in our stores? We keep on saying that the stores are empty, yet in some cases it is getting even worse. Sugar and soap are rationed, cigarettes and yarn are disappearing...." "How long will these notorious shortages go on, in a rich country like ours?..." "How will we live tomorrow?..."

Those are just a few of the many questions that are of particular concern to people today. The answers to them are to some extent already known. These answers are being given at the second USSR Supreme Soviet session, where the drafts of the State Plan for Economic and Social Development of the USSR for next year have been published and are now being discussed. The government has been forced to take an extreme step—it is even envisaging emergency measures for the financial normalization of the economy, the saturation of the internal market with goods, and the safeguarding of the uninterrupted functioning of railroad transportation and basic sectors of the national economy. Readers are undoubtedly familiar with these important documents from the session, so there is no need to repeat ourselves. Hopes have sprung up, and we are all waiting impatiently for the country to emerge from its precrisis condition.

We are waiting.... But what are we doing to ensure that life is better tomorrow? Unfortunately we are by no means doing everything we could. Tens of thousands of freight cars stand in the sidings for long periods awaiting unloading; machines, machine tools, and entire shops and plants are idle.... They are idle for various reasons. But one reason is absenteeism and absences from work with the permission of the administration. In the first 6 months of this year, it is clear from State Committee for Statistics figures, 12,465,000 person-days were lost. Every day 95,000 people were not at work. These same statisticians have calculated that the shortfall in output was worth more than R1.6 billion. So it transpires that we stole this money from ourselves.

Furthermore, average losses of work time per worker increased by 32 percent compared with the first half of last year. That is twice the increase in losses of work time in the first half of 1987, when there was a high level of idle time because of the severe winter.

Or take contractual commitments. These are constantly being broken. In light industry alone, in January-July of

this year, some 300 enterprises violated them. As a result goods worth R270 million were not delivered. The level of fulfillment of contractual commitments was lower than the overall level at enterprises of the light industry ministries in Georgia, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.

Strikes, which have recently become fashionable, have an acute impact. Because of them, and because of interethnic conflicts, in July-August food products alone worth R1 billion were not transported or unloaded on time. The situation did not improve in September. Some 300,000 tons of food and 330,000 tons of industrial goods failed to reach the counters. As winter approaches, coal is not being shipped out as envisaged in the plans, and metallurgical production facilities remain under threat of stoppages....

More examples could be cited of losses due to poor discipline and our bad organization. But even the figures already cited are, as you can see, astronomical. Where are the goods going to come from in the stores with that approach? After all, material resources are all created by the workers' hands. And no overseas sugar daddies or almighty forces are going to help us to live better if we do not do it ourselves.

"We need order in the country, discipline," A.V. Storozhuk, operator at the Krivoy Rog V.I. Lenin "Krivorozhstal" Metallurgical Combine, rightly noted at a meeting at the CPSU Central Committee. "Democracy is fine. But you need discipline, too." He was supported at the same meeting by K.N. Panov, production training foreman at the Gorkiy No 5 Vocational and Technical School: "In any family, if there is no order there will be no prosperity, and in such an enormous country that is even more true."

Boost discipline and impose order in everything! That is not just a slogan today. It is a vital necessity today. Discipline, order—that is the key condition for normalizing our economy and filling the shelves in the stores. Certain hotheads in our country have confused democracy with permissiveness, anarchy, and chaos. This is indicated by the transportation blockade to which Armenia has been subjected. It is time to put an end to this. If there is no order, we will fall into the abyss.

Lenin's precept is particularly relevant for us today: "Work without resting to create discipline and self-discipline and to strengthen organization, order, and efficiency everywhere." And again: "We must learn to combine the turbulent rally democracy of the working people's masses, welling up like the spring floods and bursting all the banks, with Iron discipline during working time..."

Discipline, organization, order—broad concepts made up of many conditions. They include higher demands than the mere observance of the rules "from A to Z." It is not enough to arrive at work on time and finish on the dot. Discipline means first and foremost complete dedication, irreproachable execution of the task at hand, and creative activeness and initiative. Why do the Swedes, say, or the Americans live better than we do? Let us be frank: Because they work better. Anyone who is late for work, to say nothing of absent, is turned away. So it's tough? But that is how order is maintained. Even in the conditions of democracy, dictatorship is necessary. Dictatorship of conscience. "It is no use repeating that collectives should feel proprietorial; they must simply become the proprietors. People say proprietors do not strike, but I would say more: Proprietors do not do poor work in normal economic conditions," People's Deputy S.S. Alekseyev quite rightly noted in his speech at the Supreme Soviet session.

The objective conditions of production work and its organization play an important part in strengthening discipline. Practice shows that where things are well organized, even idlers and absentees are reluctant to break the rules laid down. But stoppages, last minute panics, and rush jobs encourage negligence and therefore create an atmosphere of irresponsibility and indiscipline.

The force of the law must also be used to strengthen discipline and impose due order. Unfortunately some leaders are "shy" about dealing with absentees as legislation demands. Here the mass media must play their part. In short, today's task is to organize matters in such a way that everyone—from the worker to the minister—feels responsible for the common cause.

It is a truth as old as the hills—what we make, we will have; as we work, so shall we live.

Siberian Workers Awarded Pay Raise

LD0410200289 Moscow TASS in English 1809 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 4 TASS—The USSR Council of Ministers and the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions have passed a resolution raising wages of industrial and office workers in southern areas of the Irkutsk and Krasnoyarsk regions, the Russian Federation.

The resolution was prepared under the law "On the state plan for the Soviet Union's economic and social development in 1986-1990" and with a view to stopping the flow of personnel from these areas.

The additional payments are intended for uninterrupted work at enterprises, institutions and organisations, at which no such payments are stipulated by regulations.

The payments will be 10 per cent upon the completion of the first year of work. For every two subsequent years of work personnel will be paid another 10 per cent.

However, the pay rise should not exceed 30 per cent of one's wages.

Under the resolution, the period of uninterrupted work begins November 1, 1989.

Perestroyka, Journalistic Ethics Viewed

PM0410144589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Oct 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by D. Avraamov, deputy chief editor of the journal ZHURNALIST, under the rubric "Journalist and the Times": "Right to Boldness"]

[Text] It was with interest that I read the conversation on this subject in PRAVDA for 2 August. Naturally, it affects everyone who has something to do with the press—journalists, readers, listeners, and viewers. The times are increasing our responsibility to those to whom we address our words. You think about this more than anything today.

"We are not strikebreakers," the miners from the "Vorgashorskaya" mine said angrily on hearing from the television screen at the very start of the strike that they intended to end it and were calling on their neighbors to do the same.

"So they have broadcast a lie on television?" the ZHURNALIST staffer asked the strikers' representatives who had come to Moscow.

"No, there were some who felt like that at the mine, but why did the TASS correspondent present matters as though it was the opinion of the entire collective?"

...Perestroyka has politicized our lives to their very foundation. Any information is now assessed from the viewpoint of political confrontation. God forbid there should be any inaccuracy or forced interpretation. They were almost imperceptible in the information about the strike but the angry echo reached as far as the Kremlin.

Errors and inaccuracies end up on the page often because of our incompetence and haste. A journalist wants to be ahead of the others and get the news out first yet he does not have time to check thoroughly how matters stood. That is how the half truth or complete untruth that so angers the reader appears.

The trouble is also that it is sometimes difficult for us to rid ourselves of incompetence and irresponsibility because of our own preconception and prejudice. In the heat of national or other passions a journalist may be unable to think about the initial premises of his own opinions: What is it in me that is talking? It seems to me that the loss of the ability for inner reflection and of a sense of self control may be explained by two reasons.

First, by the pendulum effect. This is the journalist's reverse reaction, his revenge for his own unquestioning obedience in the past. Now everything is the other way round. Instead of obedience there is a rejection even of natural internal restricting factors.

And second, the journalist's ethics are of course affected by the long years when the press was the mouthpiece of the administrative-edict system. Journalists felt themselves to be a part of this system. Many gradually formed the conviction that they had the right to impose their own viewpoint on others out of "higher considerations" and to manipulate information. Volatility in treating facts thus has its prehistory.

Journalism is often compared with rhetoric. Like rhetoric, it always has goodies and baddies. But in our already divided society rhetorical categoricalness in assessments is dangerous. Readers are alarmed, for instance, by the nature of the polemic which has developed in some central publications. You form the impression that those taking part are often concerned not with the desire for truth, not with the objectivity of the opinions cited, and not with factual accuracy. It is as though it was not this which is important to the editorial office but which literary group the author belongs to.

To get out of the crisis together we must abandon labels, listen patiently to our adversary, and, through joint efforts, seek ways of bringing our interests closer. No, we must not paint over real conflicts and we must not conceal them with magnanimous words or with silence, as the press has done with some success in the past, but think three times before censuring.

Here is what APN correspondent A. Gostyushin wrote to the ZHURNALIST editorial office after watching the program "Searchlight of Perestroyka" about Sergach City.

The television camera seized on a shack made of planks with the inscription "fluorography." At the same time a voice off camera was talking about the proudly towering new rayon soviet executive committee building. "While I was still watching the program," A. Gostyushin writes, "I was thinking: Why does the television camera now show a panorama and why does it show only the entrance hall made of planks? When I visited the territory of the hospital I understood the reason: To the right and the left and ahead there are new buildings. Had the camera moved slightly to one side an effective contrast—between a proud executive committee building and an impoverished hospital—would have been impossible.

Untruth and half truth, whatever their provenance and whatever motives are used to justify them, alienate people.

An oblast newspaper deputy editor was relieved of his duties because, in publishing the speech delivered at an oblast committee plenum by a stockraising unit chief, he had expunged from it all critical remarks addressed to the oblast leadership. In his letter to ZHURNALIST the newspaperman is perplexed: He used to be cursed when he allowed criticism of this kind to be published but now everything is the other way round. The author is confused, but that is not what you notice in his letter. He considers that he alone is to blame: Both before and now he has been unable to please the bosses, and that is where he sees his mistake.

The country's journalist corps is heterogeneous. The gulf between the standard of central and local publications, which we have been talking about since the very start of

perestroyka, has still not been overcome. While the majority of central press staffers boldly and consistently support the line toward democratic renewal, in the provinces things are more complicated for their colleagues. Here is what Ye. Yerpyleva, a staffer of the KOGALYMSKIY RABOCHIY newspaper in Tyumen Oblast, writes: "You sometimes hear provincial journalists being reproached for being toothless and local newspapers being reproached for being faceless. Even today, in the period of glasnost, they are not keeping up with the times. But that is by no means because untalented cowards are on these newspapers, but because the brakes delaying restructuring are locally powerful and the existence of power, paralyzing any dissent, is strong."

To confirm this conclusion the journalist cites facts from the life of her own collective. Despite categorical protests from its staffers, the party city committee appointed to the post of editor of KOGALYMSKIY RABOCHIY a man who commanded no respect and who was creatively unsound but who was obedient in every way and enjoyed the support of the city fathers—the leaders of the oil and gas extracting association. For a whole year the collective was in a frenzy, the newspaper lost its combat spirit, but the editor was dismissed only after the city committee itself had been persuaded that its nominee was incapable of leading the collective.

The fact that democratization within the part is lagging behind the changes in society has in my opinion been reflected in particular in mutual relations between the press organs and party committees. The mass media are rightly called the advance detachment of renewal. They have also taken a marked lead in the assessment of present changes, in the analysis of historical facts, and in the development of glasnost in general.

It is true that in criticizing the press few local party workers have linked the present situation with the party apparatus' inability to switch from authoritarian to democratic methods of leadership. The reluctance to carry out a public review of former methods is hindering the establishment of constructive cooperation between publications and publishers.

The new thinking, and only on its basis is such cooperation possible, is impeded by dogmatic ideas about the basis principles of journalistic activity, which are alive among journalists and in the party apparatus. This applies above all to the principle of party-mindedness. Many people still identify it only with assiduity and obedience to instructions from a particular local party committee or even its leader personally. There is no doubt that these ideas reflect the practice of the recent past, when out of fear of party punishment the journalist would fulfill any instructions from his publisher. Identifying party-mindedness with obedience is primarily to the advantage of people who treat their profession as a formal activity quite unconnected with their personal convictions: I do whatever they order. Party mindedness in that case is separated from morality and the question of the journalist's personal moral responsibility is simply eliminated.

This apparatus-based concept of party mindedness is used to this day to restrict glasnost by appealing to the party discipline of the writer to force him to renounce, for instance, exposes of bureaucracy.

Yet as soon as party mindedness closes in on itself and loses touch with the nationwide interest it immediately ceases to be communist, is deprived of any moral point whatsoever, and degenerates into apparatus-based cliquishness.

Another principle—that of ideological fiber—was until recently interpreted as intolerance toward the slightest deviation from the official version. The diversity of opinions as to methods of implementing perestroyka has made this interpretation pointless. There can only be talk of complying with a general line and in the rest the workers of a press organ must have complete freedom of creation, must have the full right to raise problems, to uphold and defend their positions, and in general to act creatively and responsibly, as M.S. Gorbachev has said on this score.

The simultaneous existence of old forms of political life and new approaches is a particular difficulty of the moment we are living through. Many party committee workers realize clearly that the time of complete bans and orders has passed, but they have not learned to talk with journalists in a different way and for that reason prefer not to interfere at all in the work of editorial offices. Nature abhors a vacuum. And different forces rush to fill the vacuum which has formed. In Tolyatti, for instance, it was economic leaders offended by the newspaper who joined together and, at the city party conference, with the connivance of the party city committee, settled accounts with an editor they did not like. The bold and principled newspaperman, for many years a bureau member, was not even recommended for the city committee.

Party influence on the press is exercised primarily with the aid of the publisher, through the Communists who work in the editorial offices, through articles by party workers on the printed page. Other forms are probably also possible. It is just that so far we do not know them well.

The shortage of ideas and specific experience in renewing the forms and methods of the party's activity also applies to its interaction with the press. Here, it seems to me, this experience must not only be sought and noticed. Together with the local party committees it is probably worth embarking more boldly on experiments. Here the system of relations between the party committee and the editorial office can hardly be uniform for the whole country. Why, for 1 and ½ or 2 weeks, should we not keep track of how the experience of the GDR, for instance, takes root in one or two fields? As we know, there are no regional newspapers in the GDR. Instead

the province newspaper publishes a pullout for each region which is prepared by staffers who live in the region but are independent of the local bosses.

Elsewhere we could try to remove large-edition newspapers from the diktat of the economic manager. Initially the editor should at least not get his salary from the manager. Some more new experience will probably emerge.

The critical period of perestroyka through which the country is living demands from the writers and from those who lead them boldness, coordinated actions, profound mutual understanding, and a high degree of responsibility.

Supreme Court Chairman Weighs Plenum Outcome

PM0410160189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4

[Interview with Ye. Smolentsev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, by G. Ovcharenko under the rubric "United Front to Combat Crime": "Strictly in Accordance with the Law"]

[Text] A USSR Supreme Court plenum ended a few days ago. Prior to its meeting our correspondent had interviewed Ye. Smolentsev, chairman of the country's Supreme Court, who said that he expected a great deal from the upcoming plenum. Were his expectations justified?

Well, I think that the hopes which we were pinning on the plenum, the USSR Supreme Court chairman said, were justified. The tactics and strategy for our work in the coming years have been elaborated.

I would like to emphasize that a joint plenary session of the USSR Supreme Court and the USSR Ministry of Justice Collegium was held. Taking part in the work of the forum was also A. Sukharev, USSR prosecutor general, and senior officials of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. This adds great weight to the decisions which were adopted and inspires confidence that they will be implemented through coordinated action by all the law enforcement organs.

[Ovcharenko] During the first half of the current year 32 percent more crimes than during the corresponding period of last year have been recorded. At the same time the number of people sentenced in this period decreased by 7.6 percent. What is happening?

[Smolentsev] The crime clear-up rate has deteriorated noticeably, and the number of cases discontinued by preliminary investigation organs for reasons other than rehabilitation has increased. This was also pointed out at the plenum. As for the courts' practice of apportioning punishment, it is, on the whole, in line with the stipulations of existing legislation. People who have committed serious crimes, and people with previous convictions who stubbornly refuse to lead a life based on honest work, receive severe sentences, as a rule. Meanwhile sanctions not involving deprivation of liberty are applied to people who have committed less serious offenses for the first time.

[Ovcharenko] However, I believe that this does not mean that perfect order reigns in our courts.

[Smolentsev] I agree. In some cases courts have, for instance, deviated from the demands of the law for the strict individualization of punishments. They tolerate lapses in respect of dangerous criminals, and, specifically, malicious hooligans and individuals guilty of encroachments on socialist and private property.

At the same time there have been cases where courts have, without sufficient reason, used deprivation of liberty in respect of people with no previous criminal record who present no great danger to society and can be corrected without isolation from society. [passage omitted]

Yakovlev: Old Aspirations Dictate New Thinking

AU0310114989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Sep 89 pp 1,6

[Interview with Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and CPSU Central Committee secretary, by Boyko Vutov: "New Political Thinking is Dictated by Centuries-Old Moral Aspirations" —in Varna, date not given]

[Text] A conference of secretaries in charge of international affairs from communist and workers parties of socialist countries took place this week in Bulgaria. Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of CPSU Central Committee Politburo and CPSU Central Committee secretary, was the leader of the CPSU delegation. He gave the following interview to Boyko Vutov, representative of the daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO:

[Vutov] Esteemed Aleksandr Nikolayevich, could you help our readers to evaluate the recently concluded negotiations between the USSR and the United States, and the USSR and the United Kingdom, from the point of view of a politician, namely, from your own point of view?

[Yakovlev] The essential point in this respect is the very fact that such negotiations took place at all, and this also determines the basic essence of their contents, indicating that the dialogue which emerged on the basis of new political thinking is being further pursued, that it is constructive, and is producing results.

Another characteristic feature of the current dialogue is the absence of all kinds of "behind-the-scenes" topics of negotiations concealed from the eyes of the world public. The subject of the dialogue, the negotiations which are "pending in the air," as we may say, and the basic stands of the sides on specific issues—all these are well-known along general lines.

In the third place, we may point out that the recently concluded round of talks gave a further impetus to the negotiations on questions related to the limitation and reduction of armed forces, of conventional, and nuclear arms. This is how a new incentive was given to the disarmament process.

The farther we are removed from the past, the greater importance we should attach to the practical answer of the question: Where are we going? If at the beginning, the very efforts to part with the attributes of "cold war" already seemed a great achievement and were justifiably regarded as a manifestation of detente, the peoples in East and West are entitled to greater expectations today.

I think that the concern which the hiatus in Soviet-American relations caused all over the world and throughout Europe following the recent change of administration in the United States should be explained not only by the people's interest in pursuing the dialogue, but also by the understanding that lost time always means lost opportunities and lost chances in obtaining results.

Naturally, both sides are aware of the fact that such aspirations in themselves and even the readiness to take practical action do not eliminate the objective differences and contradictions existing between the two systems and between their two military-political organizations. This is not possible, because to eliminate contradictions from life would mean to eliminate the very source of development, even to eliminate life itself. The question is, how to overcome the existing contradictions in a civilized way, in the common interest, while searching for future prospects.

I think that the general outlines of a new basis have emerged. This basis involves everyone's right to his own national, political, and socioeconomic individuality, the right of all peoples to make their choice. This basis requires respect for a specific choice, the settlement of relations based on the balance of interests, and not on the balance of forces. It also requires the elimination of all political and material levers of confrontation, the transformation of the system of confrontation into a collective system of peace and security. All this requires the development of cooperation in all spheres, in all directions, wherever it is possible and mutually advantageous—and above all—wherever this is necessary.

I think that, as a result of the recent Soviet-American negotiations, progress was achieved on all items under discussion. Greater progress was achieved in some areas and less in others. A future 50-percent reduction of strategic, offensive weapons is emerging as a real possibility. The firm resolve to achieve agreements on chemical and conventional weapons was expressed. The concepts on the necessity and possibility of control over disarmament measures were truly reaffirmed. Regional problems were also discussed in the same manner and joint declarations were published on a number of these issues. Three agreements were also reached on certain questions related to bilateral cooperation.

As to our relations with the British side, we can assert that we have built up a solid system of dialogue, which is open-minded, and conceived in a constructive spirit. We can define this dialogue as an important contribution to our common—and, we hope, irrevocable separation from the policy and the attitudes of the "cold war" period.

I would like to point out in this context: We should not think that by removing the obstacles of the past, by eliminating militarism and the arms race from international relations, we have already created a world free of problems for ourselves and our children. This would be a delusion and it is always dangerous to delude oneself. We are creating a world free of wars and self- destruction. We are engaged in building up our common European home. However, in order to guarantee the stability of this world and of our common home, we should as soon as possible establish the political, international legal, and psychological foundations for the settlement of all problems, controversies, and conflicts likely to emerge in the future. As a result of the Soviet-American and Soviet-British negotiations, we have accomplished a few more steps forward in this direction.

[Vutov] How will the results of the aforementioned negotiations contribute to the confirmation of the philosophy of new political thinking and to the coordinated foreign policy line of the socialist countries?

[Yakovlev] I think that they have already done so just by influencing the context, the ideas, and the policy which emerged as a result of new political thinking.

After all, every sociopolitical concept, every great idea related to the philosophy of history asserts itself in practical life not by a single event, act, or phenomenon, but by a series of them. The important question we should as is whether this concept is conforming with the ideals and dreams of the common people, whether it is in accordance with their interests and aspirations, whether it corresponds to their concepts of justice, happiness, and ethics? Last, but not least, we should ask what practical results are produced by this idea, concept, or hypothesis? All these factors, in their entirety, determine the historical fate of great intellectual quests and initiatives.

I think that as far as the new political thinking is concerned, we can positively answer all these questions today. New political thinking is dictated by the centuries-old moral aspirations of people which we call the universal human aspirations today. New political thinking encompasses and further develops those concepts of social justice, of individual, and national rights, of ethics in life and politics, which have existed over milleniums in all parts of the world. The most important achievement in this respect is the fact that new political thinking has already produced positive results: The atmospnere prevailing in the world and in Europe today

radically differs from that of 5-6 years ago. This is evident. Much is expected to be accomplished in connection with consolidating and further developing positive trends, so that we may free ourselves of the psychological and military-political pressure of militarism, of violence, and confrontation. This is true and in my opinion the first, inspiring results in this respect are undeniable.

The coordination of the socialist countries' foreign policy line frequently proved valuable and necessary in the past. Such a coordination by no means affects the independence of any fraternal, socialist country. This applies in particular to the present stage of development, in which our mutual relations have entered a period of renewal and the principles of equal rights, individual sovereignty, and respect for each other's interests and points of view, are firmly established.

I think that this coordination will be necessary also in the future. Moreover, the quest for mutual agreement and for manifesting intellectually, socially, and politically affiliated positions in international affairs is constantly growing. All Slavonic peoples share the legend about the father who showed his sons that it is impossible to break a bundle of twigs, but it is very easy to break each single twig separately. This truth has been evident since the remote past.

In my opinion, however, it is true that the concept of mechanical unity no longer appeals to us and this is true of all socialist countries. As far as I can judge, we are all aware of the requirement for a new type of coordination that should stem from joint analysis and reflection, from debates, and discussions. We need a form of coordination that should be at the end and not at the beginning of this process and should by all means be followed by practical actions. As a matter of fact, it is my impression that the current development is pointing in this direction anyway.

[Vutov] Can you describe your view on the mutual link between the state of socialism in the world and the relations existing within the world of socialism at the present stage of development?

[Yakovlev] You are inviting me to write a whole dissertation. The relations you are asking about are numerous and varied, and it is very difficult to distinguish even between the basic ones. They are all important and not even one of them could be eliminated without affecting socialism as a whole. I would like to say the following: The ideal case would be to develop all those relations as full-fledged, active, and solid ties. Only in doing so we can expect an optimal effect for the development of socialism as such and for its positions in the world.

If we examine this subject in a more specific manner, we can see more evident ties. Their common basis and common denominator consist of the progress of socialist construction in each, individual country. This progress is the root of everything. If the socialist development is successfully advancing, if it contributes to the progress of a given country, and improves the life of its people—it means that the successful development represents a favorable basis of support both for the individual country in question and for socialism as a whole. If domestic affairs do not work properly in our own home country—then this will inevitably affect our foreign relations. As the saying goes, you cannot be successful in your work if your home life is uncomfortable, and the other way round: Your home life cannot be comfortable unless you succeed in your work. Dialectics are indivisible in this particular case.

What was the determining factor for the world's approach to socialism in the past? It was the fact that socialism engaged in an unprecedented historical experiment, namely in building a society of working people for the benefit of working people, a society based on social justice and moral health, a society that provides material prosperity for the people. The world's attitude to socialism was also determined by the fact that socialism was coping with this task despite the strong pressure to which it was subjected and by the fact that socialsim achieved considerable successes despite all these difficult conditions.

Today the West is persistently insinuating the idea that socialism is allegedly on the verge of its own ruin. If you will allow me, I will tell you that I simply do not believe this, I do not want, and cannot believe it. This is not true for the simple reason that over the decades following October 1917 both the social democrats and even the capitalists borrowed numerous of the benefits of socialism. They did this under the pressure of the working people in their countries, in their effort to prevent new revolutionary explosions, and being forced to make concessions to the advancing universal democratic movement—but nevertheless, they did borrow from us! Today, however, they are trying to insinuate that the ideas which socialism conceived and implemented for the first time, such as national planning, the opportunities of free education and medical assistance, the socioeconomic rights and freedoms of man, and numerous other achievements—that all these things are allegedely not viable! This is really enough, if you please.

However, we should not reassure ourselves by recalling that the forecasts about the forthcoming doom of socialism have existed since its very beginning and that such prophecies are utterly questionable. It is no secret at all that certain socialist countries have lived through a difficult period in recent years and that many fraternal parties are openly speaking about a crisis in their countries.

The CPSU has analyzed the situation in Soviet society from this point of view and concluded that a process of restructuring and a fundamental renewal in all spheres of our life, such as the economic, political, ideological and cultural sectors, are required. We are now engaged in the implementation of this restructuring process.

What are the reasons for this pre-crisis situation? To put it briefly—this situation resulted from the fact that all mechanisms, all feed-back relations in the economic and political system and in society that lead from practice to theory, and to the political sphere had been suppressed and eliminated in the past. These mechanisms, however, represent the real fabric of people's self-government, the fabric of democracy. If we restore and recreate such links, if we renew our lives—then, I am convinced, socialism will again advance with broad steps. The ideas of restructuring have acquired a great reputation in the world today, they were welcomed with great interest, precisely because they respond to numerous questions concerning not only our own country, but also those related to numerous universal human issues. We should support restructuring with deeds and selfless efforts today.

Naturally, every fraternal party is expected to determine its own tasks and priorities, to analyze all specific aspects of its own activities and circumstances. This is axiomatic. However, if we are talking about the world of socialism as a whole, I am convinced that an increasing variety of forms, approaches, and specific solutios will characterize its development in the near future. Such a variety, however, is the chief manifestation of viability, the most important prerequisite for a successful and promising development. This applies both to our own home, and to the world community as a whole.

Academician Bogomolov on Curing Economic Ills

PM1909090589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Academician O. Bogomolov under the rubric "Deputy's Stance": "How To Cure the Economy"]

[Text] At the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet session many acute problems appealing to our minds and hearts were raised. The crisis in the economy and possible ways out of it were one of the main topics in the debate, which clearly demonstrated that the methods for curing the ailing economy proposed so far have, unfortunately, failed to produce the desired results. In the light of world experience and the experience gained by other socialist countries, the path of radical economic reform which we have chosen appears, on the whole, correct. However, we are treading it diffidently, still doubting the proclaimed objectives, and especially the need to restore market mechanisms. You would think that life has demonstrated to us with the utmost clarity that the state must influence the market by economic means, and the market, in turn, must regulate the activity of enterprises. However, this conclusion has not been embodied in a firm political line. Administrative mechanisms still prevail.

In order to feed the country, it is necessary to hand land over to the peasants and give them the right to work it as they see fit, market their production, and organize their relations with the state on the basis of rent payments, taxes, and market trade—which is what many economists have been advocating and continue to advocate. It is a question here of complete equality of all types of farms, including family farms. The land must be priced according to its quality, and those who work it must pay rent directly to the owner, that is, the state in the shape of state, republic, and local organs of power rather than some kind of middlemen such as sovkhozes [state farms] and kolkhozes [collective farms], for instance. In agriculture in particular it is important to free the producer from bureaucratic control.

In October 1917 the revolution proclaimed: land to those who work it. Yet today farmers are deprived of the right to manage land as they see fit. They have to hack their way through a palisade of administrative strictures and fight off freeloaders by the score. The law on land must be one of the first acts of our new parliament.

State enterprises which produce goods for the consumer market and hard currency exports must have the same rights and freedoms as cooperatives in the development of entrepreneurial initiative, wage setting, and taxation. This excludes the right to inflate prices and infringe quality standards. Many of these enterprises should be leased to collectives or transformed into joint stock companies, and some excessively large and cumbersome enteprises should be broken up into smaller units.

Freedom of management in the sectors, including agriculture, which produce goods for the population is fraught with the risk of inflation but it also comprises an antidote to this evil, namely powerful incentives to saturate the market with goods, increase production of them, and cut costs as a result of competition. All other methods to overcome the shortages have failed to produce results. This has to be admitted.

We began the switch from the command system to the economic-accountability, plan-market system from the wrong end, by placing a massive superstructure on the agro-industrial complex and switching industrial enterprises to so-called "full economic accountability" without first curing the consumer market, implementing a tax and price reform and turning the ruble into a proper currency. By doing this we boosted inflation, which only accelerated the disintegration of the domestic market. Full economic accountability and leasing in industry, agriculture, and trade are a good thing. However, we must not ignore either the necessity to turn rubles into proper money with which people can buy anything they want. Without such money, economic accountability and leasing are mere fiction.

A healthy, full-blooded monetary system is the crux of any modern economy. In our country it has been undermined, and confidence in money, and consequently also in the government, in the state, which prints paper money and is responsible for backing it with goods and for its international prestige, has been shaken.

The recognition of the importance of the market under socialism is no more than empty words unless a firm

currency is created which serves as a real rather than hypothetical means of purchase. This truth has not yet been fully grasped, unfortunately. Therefore the impression is formed that a definitive choice in favor of a socialist market has not yet been made. We are deluding ourselves with the belief that under the system of administrative distribution employing quasi-money which is of little significance without coupons and goods allocations, economic accountability, economic incentives, and competition can come into play.

Today inflation and corruption, which is rife as a result of the chronic shortages, are the two most dangerous evils which are threatening to thwart the radical economic reform. The population is burdened by a colossal invisible tax, since the population's loss is ultimately equivalent to the amount of money in circulation which is not backed with goods. Effective demand is diminished by inflation, empty stores, and speculative prices. Tens of millions of people are on the verge of the poverty. The coupon system which applies to many essential goods is unprecedented in the modern developed world. It is the graphic result of the absence of plan control over key economic processes in the country, and money circulation in particular. It would be wrong to put all the blame for this on the Ministry of Finance, because the instruction to print money that is not backed by goods comes from above.

Overcoming the goods shortages and inflation is a matter of such crucial importance that it demands the elaboration and adoption of a package of urgent measures on which the Supreme Soviet and its commissions and committees will have to focus their attention. I have written before that in order to balance the population's effective demand with the supply of goods and services on the consumer market it would be necessary to raise people's quality of life by approximately 50 percent—even if monetary incomes remained at the same level. According to some estimates, it is necessary to remove at least R150 billion of cash from circulation. The government will only be able to pay off its debt for this sum if, in addition to increasing the production and supply of consumer goods, it brings into commodity circulation some of the assets which have been turned into the "property of the whole people"—unused or poorly used land, houses, apartments, and certain enterprises' (especially small and medium-size enterprises') fixed capital, individual types of machinery and equipment, and construction materials.

People want to spend the money which they have earned not only on food and clothes, but also on housing, normal leisure and health facilities, and durable consumer goods which make life easier, including cars. World practice demonstrates that the possibility of satisfying these needs via the market rather than through a system of administrative distribution serves as a powerful incentive for raising labor productivity and the quality of labor. Social security and guarantees provided by the state are justified above all in the case of people who are unable to work and must rely on society's care rather than their own resources.

A substantial enhancement of the intensification and productivity of agriculture on the basis of leasing and cooperative forms of its management is also hardly feasible without an expansion of the range of goods available on the market to ensure the purchasing power of the rubles earned by agricultural workers.

In order to restore the strength of the seriously ailing economy, we ought to begin with the blood-producing system—the money system, in other words. Here the decisive role belongs to the government, since it is the government which issues money via the appropriate central organs, draws up the state budget, controls the credit market, and is ultimately responsible for the value and prestige of its currency. So far the government has obviously failed to cope with this function and one of the most immediate tasks of the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet is to establish rigorous supervision of all the chapters of state expenditure and ways of eliminating the budget deficit. The state and every individual enterprise must learn to live according to their means.

Furthermore, it is necessary to take stock and assess the real value of all the fixed and circulating capital in the country, of all the property and reserves, and of all goods and services currently in production, noting their liquidity, that is to say, marketability.

The disintegration of the market, and consequently also of money, has advanced to such an extent that in view of existing social constraints (impermissibility of inflicting losses on the population) there is not a lot of scope left for adopting effective measures. The removal from circulation of excess money through sales to the population and to labor collectives of certain types of state property, introduction of higher interest rates on savings, expansion of the supply of home-produced and imported goods, and so forth may not produce the required results in the short term, especially if a breakthrough in agriculture is not achieved (on the basis of a radical reform of agrarian relations). Therefore the state probably should in the near future embark on issuing new money resembling the "chervonets" of the twenties in parallel with the existing currency. Their free convertibility into goods and subsequently also into foreign currency would be guaranteed through the creation of corresponding market stocks.

To begin with, the market using the "chervonets" would be very small, but in time it could expand in step with the reduction of the share of state orders, and with enterprises' increased possibilities to freely market above-plan output at contract prices as well as the accumulation by the state of commodity and currency reserves as backing for the new currency. The "chervonets" could rid the republics and oblasts switching to regional economic accountability of the temptation to introduce their own regional currencies. The emergence of real

fully backed money, albeit within a limited sphere of circulation, would boost the ailing economy and prevent the spread of primitive barter trade.

In the absence of a real market in our economy many natural processes of economic life have been distorted. For instance, feedback mechanisms, which signal disproportions and automatically restore the balance, do not operate. Naturally, it is not a question here of spontaneous market regulation but of regulation purposefully influenced by the state by means of the economic levers at its disposal.

Material and financial resources, cash and future funds for capital investments and foreign currency are still being distributed in government offices. The appropriations to individual sectors and regions are frequently made on the basis of the political clout of ministers and oblast committee and republic secretaries, rather than on the basis of these sectors' and regions' real contribution to the creation of the resources or their returns to the people as a whole. This is one of the main reasons for the unmanageability of and disproportions in economic development. Only economic accountability and market mechanisms are capable of subordinating the distribution of the social product to the natural economic laws—the demand for maximum growth of social labor productivity and satisfaction of the population's effective demand. This is borne out by mankind's experience in all the developed countries of the world.

The most radical method of curing our economy, capable of ridding it of many of its ailments, lies in changing the nature of labor, transforming it from semiforced labor into genuinely free labor motivated by personal economic interest and conscious discipline rather than administrative coercion and dependence. This calls for a restructuring of ownership relations, overcoming of the alienation of the working people from the means of production, and recognition of the sovereignty and equality of the various forms of ownership—public, cooperative, private, and mixed ownership.

At the Congress, as in society, dividing lines were drawn. Some people are genuinely convinced of the need to know the full truth about the past and the present, they want a definite break with Stalinism in all its manifestations, a radical reform of ownership relations, genuine people's power, and a triumph of social justice and national rights. Others take the view that half-measures and partial liberalization and glasnost are not only permissible but even preferable. They believe that it is better not to stir up the past, not to raise the question of responsibility for the long period of stagnation, for the suppression of living thought through the decades, for the crimes of that period. And there are even those who are prepared to justify the use of brute military force and the killing of people simply because they uphold different political slogans.

A society that has come of age cannot be persuaded by force, and especially not by military force. In my opinion, the path toward consolidation leads through the unraveling of the profound contradictions of social existence which are perceived from so many different angles by mass consciousness.

Use of Omsk Party, Soviet Premises Disputed

PM1509134989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Sep 89 Second Edition p 3

[Yuriy Shpakov article under the rubric "Publicist's Notes": "In the Heat of the Moment"]

[Excerpts] Omsk—The newspaper MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI recently published a letter from Omsk television journalist S. Nosovets in its "Offensive on Privileges" section. The letter said that participants in a rally held in the city considered the "indifference of Omsk party and soviet leaders to demands to hand over the oblast party committee [obkom] party aktiv training center building, the obkom hospital, and oblast soviet executive committee [oblispolkom] dachas for children's health care" to be immoral... "This question has been raised for a long time now but has still not been answered, despite intervention by USSR People's Deputies Yevgeniy Kim, Aleksey Kazannik, Gennadiy Portnov, and Vladimir Parusnikov, doctors, the public, correspondents from the 'Vzglyad' program, and the local television studio..." If the editorial note is anything to go by, in Omsk Oblast "those who enjoy privileges are making Herculean efforts to retain these advantages."

As we can see, serious accusations have been made. But do they accord with reality? [passage omitted]

What exactly are these facilities which have come under fire from informal organizations? Together with the city's chief pediatrician, V. Obryvalin, we visited the oblispolkom dachas, which have prompted the most gossip. In the middle of the thirties, these spartan summer cottages without any conveniences were built alongside the ispolkom's subsidiary plot in the suburbs. They have been preserved to the present day in an equally spartan (if not more spartan) form. In the warm months, party and soviet workers take holidays here with their families. My interlocutor could not conceal his amazement: He had never expected that the infamous dachas, which have been so much talked about, would be so squalid. Of course, he said, a "gift" of this kind would be no good to us at all. A children's sanatorium could not possibly be housed in these decrepit little houses. The only option would be to pull them down and build them anew. That would take too long, however... [passage omitted]

It should be pointed out that the leaders of the city's public health service are not actually laying claim to either the dachas or the hospital, believing that the discussion of the matter should not be taken seriously. But the new CPSU obkom training center has attracted their attention. The smart, modern building on the shore of the Irtysh is very alluring. It does even look more like a sanatorium from the outside. Would it be possible to

convert it into a children's health institution, as the informal assocations are insisting?

Tens of thousands of citizens, as we have already said, are unconditionally in favor of this. But we should not be too hasty in drawing conclusions. We hardly need to prove that far from everything can be resolved by a simple show of hands. Often, the opinion of one professional carries far more weight than the collective emotions of a multitude of incompetent people. So it would not be out of place to give you the viewpoint of the author of the project, Yu. Zakharov.

"The complex is designed to fulfil clearly defined functions," the architect said. "Converting it for medical purposes would inevitably involve the need to redesign the premises and replace the electrical, sanitary engineering, and ventilation systems. Hundreds of additional vents and passages would have to be made in the building's support structures, which could eventually even lead to damage in the main structure. I say this very responsibly."

MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI refers to four USSR people's deputies. I asked each of them to comment on the newspaper article. A. Kazannik and G. Pottnov said categorically that they are not involved in the matter at all, have not signed any documents, and are outraged at the unceremonious use of their names in the press. Ye. Kim and V. Parusnikov have also never had any interest in the dachas and the hospital and have no personal opinions on the subject. As far as the training center is concerned, they feel it would be possible to hand it over to the children, although they agree that the final decision must be made by specialists. [passage omitted]

I have no doubt that the likable children collecting signatures at busy intersections are prompted by the best possible motives. It is not their fault that they do not have full, reliable information. What is more, too many of the country's party committees have compromised themselves with their irrepressible desire for extravagance and personal benefits. So, in the minds of ordinary citizens, all obkoms and gorkoms without exception are tarred with the same brush. This is also the reason why many rally participants respond with boos and hisses to proposals of businesslike cooperation from local party leaders and why they refuse point-blank, as they say, to see the enormous amount of useful work being done by the oblast's party committees.

Civic action by informal associations is undoubtedly a positive phenomenon. But what puts us seriously on our guard is this: The sinister shadows of political extremists are now appearing with increasing frequency behind the backs of honest, brave champions of restructuring. Talk of expropriating the dachas is sometimes followed by voices saying that the time has come to "smash the obkoms." Leaflets have appeared in the city containing vile insinuations about the CPSU which concude with the call to "free the world of the bloody conagion of communism." Incidentally, we are amazed by the suggestion proposed by one leader of an informal association in "OMSKAYA PRAVDA"—namely, to conduct a dialogue through this newspaper with the authors and purveyors of this libel. Pluralism is one thing, but there should be a sense of moderation! Surely it is not possible to have a calm conversation with someone who has just rudely spat in your face?

Attacks on the party and its representatives at local level, which have sharply increased lately, are by no means as harmless as they may seem to some. A lie repeated a thousand times over leaves a noticeable trace in people's minds and hearts—and a half-truth even more so. And although the Siberians have long been characterized by their calm, even temper and common sense, there is no room for complacency in this instance. We should also be aware that there has been a suspicious increase in the number of visits to Omsk by overt and covert emissaries from the "Democratic Union" and other extremist organizations and envoys from nationalist movements in the Baltic region and the Transcaucasus. At the moment their endeavors are not meeting with noticeable support. But who knows what course events will take in the future...?

For the sake of objectivity I will also say this. It is possible that the present uproar over the problems of children's health care would not have arisen if Omsk party and soviet officials had made a clearer stand and furnished primary party organizations and labor collectives with full information. At a recent meeting of the oblast party aktiv considerable serious criticism was brought against the obkom bureau and its secretaries. They were criticized for their indecision, attempts to justify themselves, and inability to conduct a frank, principled discussion with the informal associations. As we can see, the age-old practice of bureaucratic work methods is still making itself felt.

In conclusion I would like to quote the opinion of V. Parusnikov, USSR people's deputy and worker at a television plant.

"I believe," he said, "that voluntarism and indiscriminate, totally irresponsible 'soapbox democracy' are two sides of the same coin. If we are talking about society's real interests, there cannot be a return either to the administrative-edict system or to the Novgorod assembly, which only fuels passions. Any crucial decision must be made by competent people. If we base our actions on reliable information, accumulated experience, and common sense, we will get the best results. And I am not only thinking of medical services for children in Omsk...."

Arms Confiscated From Criminal Elements

LD0410224889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 4 Oct 89

[from the "Vremya" newscast; video report by correspondent V. Voloshin identified by screen caption]

[Text] The storage of weapons in units and subunits of the Soviet Army is the subject of a conversation between one of our correspondents and the military procurator of the Moscow garrison.

[Voloshin] These weapons were shown to us in the Military Procuracy of the Moscow Garrison. [video shows assorted weapons lying on a table; mainly knives, but also three guns, one a submachine gun, and several sticks of explosive]. They were confiscated from criminal elements and violators of public order during September alone. Here, as you can see, there are rifles, explosives, knives, [word indistinct] and knuckledusters. This submachine gun was stolen by the criminals from a military unit. Let's have a talk with Leonid Alekseyevich Obyektov, military procurator of the Moscow Garrison [obyektov]. Criminal elements are doing their best to find various channels through which it might be possible to get hold of weapons. The methods behind such acts are varied: by direct penetration or secret penetration into storehouses and arsenals, and theft, to the bribery of persons having access to weapons, and to direct armed attacks on sentries.

On 4 September this year, in our garrison, two criminals attacked a sentry at the Academy of Armored Troops, stabbed him three times, took a submachine gun and ammunition, and ran off. Through the measures that were taken, the criminals were detained and rendered harmless, and the weapons were recovered. However, I must say that in this case the sentry did not perform his duties, according to which he should not have allowed any outsider into the post, even though it might have meant using his weapons. It is a matter of insufficient training of the personnel, as well as—to put it bluntly—a scatter-brained attitude and criminal negligence.

[Voloshin] There are many attempts to buy weapons from servicemen and to persuade them to sell their weapons.

[Obyektov] Such instances do indeed occur. As an example, I can say that, quite recently, in the Kaliningrad Garrison near Moscow, a group of civilians induced servicemen to steal weapons by promising to pay them R43,000.

[Voloshin] It would seem that control over the safekeeping of weapons has become weaker in military units.

[Obyektov] That's right. You've noticed that, on the whole, over the last few years, control over the safekeeping of the weapons of the Armed Forces has been somewhat reduced and there are actual instances of negative phenomena in that respect. We are now hard at work. Checks are being carried out, primarily on the presence of weapons, especially where lots of them are accumulated, in arsenals, depots and storehouses. Checks are made to see how they are stored and whether the service personnel to whom weapons are entrusted match up to the positions they hold. If a serviceman's actions show any sign of crime, then an inquiry is duly conducted by our investigators, and the question of criminal liability is decided in accordance with the law.

Health Ministry Notes Current AIDS Figures

LD0410235989 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] The Soviet Health Ministry says that 744 people in the Soviet Union have proved to have contracted AIDS; 412 of them are foreigners. Speakers at a conference at the health Ministry said that highly effective medicines had been worked out. They suppressed the development of the virus. However, researchers are still far away from producing an anti-AIDS vaccine.

New Nuclear-Powered Icebreaker Commissioned

LD0510001489 Moscow TASS in English 1856 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Leningrad October 4 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Nikolay Konstantinov:

A new nuclear-powered icebreaker was commissioned at Leningrad's Baltiyskaya shipyard on Wednesday. The Oktyabrskaya Revolutsia is the fifth ship with a 75,000-horsepower nuclear-propulsion system to be built in the Soviet Union.

The first three ships in the series (the Arktika, the Sibir and the Rossiya) were commissioned several years ago.

The yard is now completing the construction of the sixth atomic icebreaker, the Sovetsky Soyuz, and has begun building one more, the Ural.

Although all of these ships have similar design, each new ship in the series has updated radiation safety systems and increased ice-breaking capacity.

The world's first nuclear-powered icebreaker, the Lenin, was built in Leningrad 30 years ago. This year the ship will complete its last navigation of the polar seas, after which it will be permanently anchored at its port of registry, Murmansk.

The Baltiyskaya shipyard has also begun the construction of nuclear-powered icebreakers of a smaller type jointly with the Finnish firm Waertsilae.

The Finns will build the ships' hulls and do the finishing work, while the Soviet yard will install the nuclear reactors and mechanical systems.

The 50,000-horsepower icebreakers are intended to lead other vessles through the shallow estuaries of major Siberian rivers.

The first such icebreaker, the Taimyr, is completing test runs in the Gulf of Finland, and the construction of the second, the Vaigach, will soon be completed in Leningrad.

Kamchatka Seismic Concerns Addressed

PM0310153789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Sep 89 First Edition p 6

[Correspondent A. Androshin report under the rubric "People Are Asking": "Are the Volcanoes 'Dormant?'"]

[Text] Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy—In Kamchatka the air is literally abuzz over the "seismic" issue, and residents there have hardly talked of anything else in the last few months. Almost every earth tremor beneath their feet—even weak and hardly noticeable ones which were formerly ignored here, in a region of fire-breathing mountains—are now without fail inflated by sundry rumors and conjectures which bring confusion into the normal life of our country's easternmost region. And so, following the latest recent underground tremors recorded in late August and mid-September, the flow of containers loaded with household goods heading for the "mainland" has swollen. There are also people who are thinking of sending their children to follow their belongings. But what is the actual situation there, how justified are people in feeling alarmed?..

Let me begin with a curious document which arrived in the correspondents' office not so long ago, together with the day's mail. This memorandum, compiled by associates of the USSR Academy of Sciences Far Eastern Department Volcanology Institute, was also published by the local newspaper. This is understandable, because it contained important information for residents of the peninsula, which is not risk-free in seismic terms: About the real threat, about precautionary measures in the event of a surprise tremor, and about the way to behave if—providence forbid—people find themselves in the vortex of terrifying events. This was written in clear and understandable language, accessible even to laymen. Briefly speaking, the information seemed exhaustive, but the question is: Can this advice be of any real help in the hour of trial?

These doubts were answered by S. Fedotov, director of the Volcanology Institute, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and chairman of the Far East Section of the Academy of Sciences Interdepartmental Council for Seismology and Earthquakeproof Construction:

"Of course, this memorandum is just one of the ways to prepare for the possibility of a major earthquake. But it should not be underestimated, either. It is, after all, well known that it is not the natural calamities themselves but their consequences that are terrifying."

Furthermore, it was not so long ago that scientists opened the eyes of the peninsula's residents to what really lies in store. It is this: Too much energy has already accumulated in the ground under Kamchatka over the quiet years to expect its tranquil "dispersal." This means that the time has come to seriously prepare for a possible major tremor.

In contrast with times past, this time scientists have taken a highly serious approach toward Kamchatka. Immediately after dispatching the first team of salvage workers to help suffering Armenia, people here got down to putting their own home in order. For example, civil defense instruction sessions are held at enterprises and in organizations and institutions. Even construction industry workers have managed to visit Spitak to learn on the spot, as it were, which structures and components proved most vulnerable there. Finally, there is serious talk about setting up special formations equipped with everything they might need—right up to dog teams—to clear the rubble and search for victims.

Nonetheless, are we not already wasting time which might be precious? After all, all the work to study apartment blocks in Kamchatka should have been finished during the current 5-year plan period. This was said in the government decision adopted 3 years ago following a proposal by scientists. So far, however, not even the certification of buildings and installations, especially those under departmental jurisdiction, has been completed. People in Kamchatka also have numerous complaints about the quality and glasnost of this procedure. In the seismologists' opinion, every resident must know how durable his home is. Depending on this, he could take appropriate action in the event of a calamity. He could either stay put or immediately abandon his home. So far, however, people find it difficult to obtain this information. It must also be said that, according to the most modest estimates, there are about 50,000 people now living in dilapidated blocks situated on steep hillsides and in landslide zones.

They should be immediately resettled, but where? And generally speaking, what methods should be used to "reinforce" these old buildings which, incidentally, have already been found to include about 25 schools, 15 kindergartens, and virtually all public health facilities including the oblast hospital? Finally, where are the necessary funds, workforce, and materials to come from, seeing that not a single one of the 15 departments involved in this work is in any hurry to consolidate the material and technical base of its repairs and construction work organizations. For a long time people here were actually unable to reach agreement on even the site for building a new housing construction combine.

Hence people's natural alarm for their own safety. It was expressed at the top of their voice during the city soviet's recent session. They are also fed up with construction industry workers whose mistakes, breaches of technological procedures, and simply slipshod work are the object of especially close scrutiny following the Spitak earthquake.

"On the whole, deputies assessed the prevailing situation as an emergency," L.N. Yegorov, first secretary of the city party committee, admitted. "They agreed on an emergency action program. First and foremost, we believe that it is necessary to demolish dilapidated housing in the next 2 years, and this will necessitate

utilizing all apartment blocks being commissioned, regardless of departmental jurisdiction. And of course, to reinforce buildings which are not judged capable of withstanding a force-9 earthquake. And the city alone has over 1 million square meters of such buildings. On the session's instructions, we asked the country's government for help. It looks as if now we will be simply unable to cope on our own...."

Economic

Coal Shortage Blamed on Railways, Not Mines

PM0310152189

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 October 1989 Second Edition carries on page 2 a 1,500-word feature comprising two "Letters to the Editorial Office" followed by PRAVDA correspondent A. Bogachuk's "Correspondent's Commentary." The first letter is headlined "Stopping a 'Chain Reaction' of Losses! Open Letter From Metallurgist USSR People's Deputies to Strike Committees, Labor Collectives, and All Working People in the Coal Industry." Signed by USSR People's Deputies S. Medvedev, director of the Kirghiz Mining and Metallurgy Combine; K. Nosov, general director of "Krivorozhstal"; A. Trubin, steel worker at the Nizhnetagil V.I. Lenin Metallurgical Combine; and G. Shtoyk, director of the East Kazakhstan Copper and Chemical Combine, it appeals to coal industry workers not to disrupt production and worsen "an increasingly threatening situation in the metallurgy complex."

"We had a shortfall of approximately 1.5 million tonnes of coking coals in the third quarter this year, including 1 million tonnes of the most valuable grades of coal which determine coke quality. Deliveries of schist under the state order at 'Krivorozhstal,' 'Zaporozhstal' and in Mariupol, Kommunarsk, Lipetsk, Chelyabinsk, and Magnitogorsk were virtually completely paralyzed." The writers conclude that "in order to have a better life, we must work better. That is no mere slogan, but a reality."

The second letter, headlined "But Coal Is Already Available...," is signed "on the instructions of mining collectives" by N. Litvinenko, chairman of a workers' committee and secretary of the "Novaya" Mine Party Committee; Ye. Sterzhanov, head of the Belovo City Party Committee Socioeconomic Department and mining engineer; and G. Shatilov, chairman of the Belovo City Soviet Executive Committee and also a mining engineer. The letter acknowledges that the miners are still failing to fulfill their commitments to their associated plants—because, they write, "the railroad is not supplying empty freightcars. In the last 2 months Belovo city's mines and pits have failed to receive 7,000 open freightcars."

The "Correspondent's Commentary" reads as follows: "Kemerovo Oblast—There is an age-old saying in Siberia that when the rowan berry ripens, you can expect a hard winter. The rowan trees are doing marvelously this year—you cannot see the leaves for berries. Winter is at the door, sleet is falling constantly. But I remember the uncommonly harsh winter of 1985 when a major accident occurred in Belovo at a coal enrichment plant owing to the intensely cold weather.

"That winter I was working as PRAVDA's own correspondent in the Donbass and I remember well the Ukrainian metallurgists' alarm over the accident in the Kuzbass. Trains carrying Kuznetsk coke and concentrates froze up en route, and there were few reserves from the fall. The coking-oven batteries in Donetsk and Dnepropetrovsk operated on starvation rations and the blast furnaces switched to low gear. The Siberian winter had a harsh impact on the Ukraine. Will ancient history repeat itself this time?

"A USSR Council of Ministers resolution adopted soon after the miners' strike ended instructed the Ministry of Railways to 'take steps to radically improve the provision of coal mines, pits, and enrichment factories with railroad freightcars for loading and shipping coal and coal processing products.'

"Let me note incidentally that the organization of regular fuel shipments was one of the main demands made by the Kuzbass strike committees.

"Two months have elapsed since then. A good master at this time makes diligent preparations for the cold weather and forms winter fuel reserves. This is particularly important for metallurgy and power industry workers, who cannot to work, as the saying is, 'from hand to mouth.' Fuel shipments for communal and domestic needs arouse equal concern where schools, hospitals, and kindergartens may suffer primarily in winter. In short, what is needed is an all-out effort. But what is happening in actual fact?

"In August and September, that is, following the publication of the USSR Council of Ministers resolution, the rates of fuel shipments to consumers even dropped. Whereas in August 1.7 million tonnes of coal were not shipped, in September this indicator topped 2 million tonnes and over the 2 months the national economy as a whole had a shortfall of 4 million tonnes of coal from the Kuzbass.

"Some 11.5 million tonnes of fuel have piled up in mine and pit stores, including 1.5 million tonnes of above-plan coal. Let me be quite clear: If coal extraction stops completely today, coal can be shipped from the stocks until the end of October.

"The Ministry of the Railways is to blame for the fact that every 24 hours coal miners obtain 1,500 fewer freightcars than laid down in the shipment plan; they pay huge fines and as a result idle away the time without a dime—there is not even any money to pay miners' wages. That reinforces social tension and threatens new conflicts. Departmental sluggishness is in fact proving a great misfortune."

Scientific

Underground Nuclear Explosion Carried Out

LD0410162689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1610 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 4 Oct (TASS)—At 1430 Moscow time today, at a testing ground in the area of Semipalatinsk in the Soviet Union, an underground nuclear explosion with a power of up to 20 kilotons was carried out.

The test was aimed at further improving military technology.

Radiation levels in the area of the test and beyond the confines of the testing ground are normal.

'Cosmos-2047' Launched 3 Oct, Parameters Given

LD0410083589 Moscow TASS in English 0826 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 4 TASS—Yet another satellite in the Cosmos series, the Cosmos-2,047, was launched in the Soviet Union on Tuesday [3 October]. It carries scientific equipment for space research.

The satellite was put into an orbit with the following parameters:

—initial orbital period—89.5 minutes,
—the maximum distance from the earth's surface—357 km,
—the minimum distance from the earth's surface—178 km,
—orbital inclination—67.2 degrees.

The satellite also carries a radio system for precision measurement of orbit elements, a radio telemetric system to transmit back to earth the data on the operation of instruments and scientific equipment.

The on-board equipment is functioning normally.

'Mir' Cosmonauts Continue Orbital Experiments

LD0410034189 Moscow TASS in English 1220 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Mission Control Centre October 3 TASS—The Soviet cosmonauts Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov are continuing their work on board the orbital Mir (peace) space station.

In keeping with a programme of geophysical studies, the crew today began a series of tests aimed at determining the spectral and optical properties of the earth's atmosphere.

The cosmonauts are using the KATE-140 camera, and MKS-M and Spektr-256 spectrometers.

In experiments with the use of a highly accurate gauge, Lyulin, the crew are to assess the radiation situation in space around the complex.

On Monday the cosmonauts carried out a number of medico- biological tests, serviced and repaired on-board systems and checked expendable materials stores.

Medical check-ups show that Viktorenko and Serebrov are in good health.

The mission is proceeding normally.

CSSR Satellite Separates From 'Intercosmos-24'

LD0310152989 Moscow TASS in English 1430 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 3 TASS—The Czechoslovak satellite Magion-2 today separated from the Soviet artificial earth satellite Intercosmos-24 launched on September 28.

Magion-2 carries scientific and service equipment produced in Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

The Magion-2 is equipped with the Soviet Pulsar engine installation meant for correcting the satellite's orbit in accordance with the programme of scientific research.

After the satellite's separation, scientific experiments involving two spacecraft were started as part of the Activny project. The use of two crafts simultaneously makes it possible to conduct research on plasma processes in near space from different points.

The research programme also provides for coordinating the work of scientific complexes on both satellites with ground measurements conducted by the geophysical observatories of countries-participants in the project.

The parameters of Magion-2 are close to the parameters of the Intercosmos-24 satellite.

The satellite's systems and scientific equipment are working normally.

The ground stations of the Soviet Union and other countries, participants in the Aktivny project, receive and process all scientific data transmitted by the satellites.

Space Information To Be Utilized by UK Companies

LD0410110889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1840 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Excerpts] London, 2 Oct—TASS Correspondent Aleksandr Sisnev reports:

"At present, interest in information about the earth, its atmosphere, its natural resources, and about climatic and ecological changes are greater than ever before. For this reason the information transmitted from space is of particular significance under these conditions." Vladimir Aksenov, Pilot-cosmonaut of the USSR, director of the state Scientific Research Centee for the

Study of natural Resources, and who is heading a delegation from the USSR Main Space Administration which is in Great Britain, told a TASS correspondent in a conversation.

"We are here," he said, "to work on the dissemination of information obtained from a satellite of the 'Resurs' type on the territory of Great Britain. These discussions are being conducted with such well-known companies as Marconi and British Aerospace." [passage omitted]

"It can be said," V. Aksenov continued, "That the growth rate of interest in such information will outstrip the development rate of space systems themselves. In this respect it is hardly possible to speak now about complications arising in the space information market because of competition with the traditional systems which are already in operation."

"As far as the direct acquisition of our information by consumers is concerned," the head of the delegation from the USSR Main Space Administration continued, "there are two options here: Either they will receive it on their own territory directly from the satellite, or it will be transmitted from already existing reception centers within the USSR. In each specific case the option that is more rational and advantageous for the sides will be selected."

"Although we are working on interaction in the use of information obtained from space apparatus with the Marconi and British Aerospace companies, it should be understood that we do not intend to link up with these firms alone," B. Aisenov stressed in conclusion. "The interest in such data is too great for the range of possible consumers to be restricted.

Military

Lizichev Speaks at Military Sociologists Meeting

PM0510085989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Oct 89 First Edition p 1

[Unnamed own correspondent report: "Military Sociologists' Meeting"]

[Text] A training and methodological meeting has opened at the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate's Center for Research into Social and Psychological Problems. A report entitled "On the Center's Place, Role, and Practical Tasks in Building Up the Restructuring of Party Political Work in the Army and Navy" was delivered by Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

Those attending were addressed by Colonel General G. Stefanovskiy, Lieutenant General V. Lukinykh, Major Generals V. Kuznetsov and R. Beshchev, Captain First Class G. Davydov, and Colonel N. Karasev. The meeting is continuing.

Conference To Study 'Politicization' of Army

PM0410154789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Sep 89 Second Edition p 1

[Interview with Colonel General G. Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate: "Ideological Work: Renewing Content, Improving Approaches"; date, place not given; first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] Our party's Central Committee has raised the question of the elaboration and practical implementation of a new concept of CPSU ideological activity, including activity in the Armed Forces. New ideas and approaches are needed to organizing the political, military, moral, and legal training of servicemen and effecting a major renewal of the substance and all the established forms and methods of work. The All-Army Conference of Leading Ideological Workers, to be held 10-12 October this year, is to provide the answer to many questions arising in this connection. What will it be like and what can we expect from its work—Colonel General G. Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, answers these questions put by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA.

[Question] It is no secret, Gennadiy Aleksandrovich, that the present sociopolitical situation in our country is determined by a high degree of politicization in society against a background of intensifying economic, social, and interethnic problems. This has affected the Army, too. Differences of approach to the phenomena of modern life and different levels of understanding of them give rise to people's "ideological stratification" and create ideological discomfort. Will this be discussed at the All-Army Conference?

[Stefanovskiy] Army and Navy ideological workers are undoubtedly encountering totally new phenomena today, which were totally nonexistent in military collectives a few years ago. Take, for example, that section of the new draftees which participated in self-supporting or so-called informal associations, rallies, strikes, and so forth. This is, let us say, a new contingent in ideological practice. It is known that problems of interethnic relations have become particularly acute in a number of parts of the country, and that could not fail to affect the moral climate in military collectives, too. The latter fact introduces into the Army milieu instances of national egotism and factionalism on ethnic grounds. There are frequent cases where nonregulation relations take on a national hue. We undoubtedly have to speak of this with all party-minded bluntness and principle.

The following problem should also be added to this. The interest of the mass media in Army and Navy life—an interest which has increased many times over—has given society a diversity of views on questions of defense building and the preparation of young people for service in the Armed Forces. Unfortunately, articles and statements on military problems are not all equal in their objectivity and competence.

All these are the realities of the ideological and political situation, which influence the social awareness of the masses, including Army and Navy personnel. With regard to what I have said, we plan to examine with the conference participants a number of urgent problems, namely: Ways to strengthen the spiritual potential and defense of the socialist homeland; questions of carrying out ideological work under conditions of the personnel's intensive politicization; the main areas for enhancing the culture of interethnic relations in military collectives; the mechanism for ensuring real unity of ideological and organizational work; and some others.

It is proposed to exchange the experience of ideological work accumulated in the course of perestroyka, to define sore points, and to provide answers to a number of questions posed by practice. And there are very many such questions. It is necessary, for example, to define clearly which ideological and theoretical problems of perestroyka require priority study and what must be undertaken to improve the whole system of political training. It is necessary to enhance the role of universities of Marxism-Leninism and party schools in the system of personnel ideological and political education and to assess the effectiveness of introducing the institution of deputy secretaries of primary party organizations for ideological work. The need is arising to improve the system of continuous training and retraining of propagandist cadres, and to discuss the extent to which the commissions set up under political directorates and the councils set up in combined units, units, and ships for ideological work are justifying themselves. We do not always know how to manage correctly the supernumerary ideological subdivisions and aktiv (agitprop collectives and groups, agitators). There are other questions too. How to work, for example, with representatives of informal organizations? What should the mechanism of political organs' cooperation with the ideological subdivisions of local party organs and with creative organizations be like? In short, many problems have piled up.

We see as one of the main aims of the upcoming assembly the collective elaboration and subsequent realization of practical measures to overcome archaism in political studies and personnel education and to "humanize" ideological work as far as possible.

[Question] In the light of such a wide range of tasks, clearly, both the program of the assembly and the preparations for it must be unusual?

[Stefanovskiy] Yes, the conference will not begin with the traditional report but, in fact, with an exchange of work experience among its participants. It is proposed to hear the main report, with its analysis of the state of ideological work and with the tasks of increasing its perestroyka, during the study sessions.

We see the sense of this approach, in particular, in enabling the conference participants to express everything that has become painful, to give vent to the creative approach to problems, and to invite constructive reflection. For practice is continuously being enriched, and there are very many interesting proposals for improving the substance, forms, and methods of people's ideological, political, military, and moral education.

The theoretical part of the conference is planned to be topical in terms of substance and diverse in terms of forms and methods. We are reckoning on hearing lectures on the modern concept of socialism and questions of Soviet military building, meeting and talking with CPSU Central Committee staff on the most urgent problems of ideological work with due regard for the party Central Committee September (1989) Plenum decisions, organizing a "roundtable" on the subject "Radical Economic Reform and Conversion of Military Production," and conducting a businesslike game devoted to the methods of discussing the problem of the Army and society. The conference plan provides for meetings and talks with USSR people's deputies and leaders of the mass media and for a number of other measures. Incidentally, even this conversation of ours pursues the aim of putting the participants in the picture and giving them food for thought right now, some time before the conference.

Targeted trips to the troops and fleets, scientific and practical conferences, "roundtables" of military scientists and practical ideological workers, creative discussions at the Main Political Directorate's Ideological Work Directorate, and talks with chiefs of political organs, leaders of political organs' agitprop departments and divisions, and the party and ideological aktiv have been used to accumulate a "bank" of ideas which we are reckoning on discussing during the studies. To this end, in particular, personnel from the directorate and also from the Center for Research into Social and Psychological Problems and social scientists are making a study of individual questions among the troops and in the fleets and are continuing to generalize the political organs' proposals.

The chief thing that we expect from the conference participants and all Army and Navy ideological cadres is active and interested involvement in resolving the main problems of work with people and in renewing the approaches to their education and the molding of high political, businesslike, and moral qualities. This is seen as the most important condition for increasing the perestroyka of ideological work at the stage of developing practical preparations for the 28th party congress.

Extended Service Personnel Given Housing Priority

PM0410112589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Sep 89 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers has adopted the resolution "On Measures to Improve the Provision of

Living Space for Officers, Ensigns, Warrant Officers, and Servicemen Performing Extended Military Service Who Have Been Transferred to the Reserve or Retired." The document points out that a number of soviet organs locally fail to fulfill government decisions on the timely provision of housing for officers, ensigns, warrant officers, and servicemen performing extended military service who have been discharged from the USSR Armed Forces.

Union republic councils of ministers are instructed to examine without delay the question of providing living space for officers, ensigns, warrant officers, and servicemen performing extended military service who have been transferred from the USSR Armed Forces and the border, internal, and railroad troops to the reserve or retired for reasons of health, age, or a reduction in complements and to implement the necessary measures to provide these persons, who are on the books of local soviet executive committees [ispolkoms] at the time this resolution is adopted, with housing as a priority in 1989-1990.

The resolution points out that union republic councils of ministers and the USSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan] must provide in the draft plan for 1990 for the necessary capital investments to provide housing for officers, ensigns, warrant officers, and servicemen performing extended military service who have been transferred to the reserve or retired in connection with the reduction of the USSR Armed Forces.

It is laid down that, starting with the 13th 5-Year Plan, officers, ensigns, warrant officers, and servicemen performing extended military service who have been transferred to the reserve or retired will be provided with living space by using the capital investments envisaged for these purposes from all sources of finance by the USSR Gosplan and the union republic councils of ministers and formed on the basis of stable normatives, including funds in the corresponding budgets.

The resolution provides that officers, ensigns, warrant officers, and servicemen performing extended military service who have been transferred from the USSR Armed Forces and the border, internal, and railroad troops to the reserve or retired for reasons of health, age, or a reduction in complements are placed on the books to be provided with living space by local soviet ispolkoms without the submission of documents relating to checking out from the previous place of residence and handing over the occupied dwelling. These documents are to be submitted by the said persons directly on obtaining dwellings.

In the event of the arrival of the said persons (with family members) at the place of residence chosen with regard to the existing registration procedure, local soviet ispolkoms have the duty to take urgent measures to accommodate them temporarily, as provided for in existing legislation, until they obtain living space.

The resolution grants to officers, ensigns, warrant officers, and servicemen performing extended military service who have reached the age limits laid down in the USSR Law "On Compulsory Military Service" for performing active military service or who have no more than 3 years to go before they reach these age limits the right to priority admission to housebuilding and housing cooperatives and to obtain plots of land for individual housing construction in population centers chosen by them with regard to the existing registration procedure, regardless of where the said persons were performing active military service.

This right extends also to officers, ensigns, warrant officers, and servicemen performing extended military service who were earlier transferred from the USSR Armed Forces to the reserve or retired for reasons of health, age, or a reduction in complements and who are to be resettled from closed or isolated military camps.

The resolution points out that the said persons are admitted to housebuilding and housing cooperatives and allocated plots of land for individual housing construction without the need of a residence permit at the location of the cooperative or plot of land on documents issued to these persons in accordance with the procedure laid down accordingly by the USSR Ministry of Defense, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the USSR KGB, and the chief of the railroad troops.

This resolution also applies to officers, ensigns, warrant officers, and servicemen performing extended military service in USSR KGB organs.

Baltic Military Leaders To Answer Callers' Queries

PM0510143589 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 28 Sep 89 p 1

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Of Interest to Many": "Direct Line"]

[Text] Due to the great interest shown by the civilian population in problems of the USSR Armed Forces, the Red Banner Baltic Military District Military Council has decided to inaugurate an open channel of communication with the population of the Soviet Baltic republics and Kaliningrad Oblast.

Your questions are answered Saturdays from 1000 to 1230 by:

Colonel General Fedor Mikhaylovich Kuzmin, USSR people's deputy and district commander (fourth Saturday in the month);

Lieutenant General Oleg Vladimirovich Zinchenko, member of the Military Council and chief of the District Political Directorate (third Staurday in the month);

Lieutenant General Petr Grigoryevich Chaus, district chief of staff (second Saturday in the month);

Lieutenant General Fedor Ivanovich Melnichuk, district first deputy commander (first Saturday in the month).

Call telephone number 33-63-55 (in Riga).

Leaders Sign World War II Veteran's Obituary

PM0410112389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Oct 89 First Edition p 4

[Obituary of Lieutenant General D.I. Litovtsev]

[Excerpts] Lieutenant General Dmitriy Ivanovich Litovtsev, retired, a veteran of the Great Patriotic War, has died after a short, serious illness. He dedicated his entire conscious life to the cause of defending the socialist fatherland and to the selfless service of the Soviet people and the Communist Party, which he joined in 1945.

D.I. Litovtsev was born 30 January 1922 in Velikiy Bobrik village in Sumy Oblast's Krasnopolskiy Rayon. He entered the Armed Forces in 1939. During the Great Patriotic War years he fought on the Leningrad, Steppe, Voronezh, and 2d Ukrainian fronts. In the postwar period D.I. Litovtsev commanded a military district and subsequently headed a USSR Ministry of Defense Main Directorate. [Passage ommitted]

D.T. Yazov, M.A. Moiseyev, P.G. Lushev, K.A. Kochetov, A.D. Lizichev, Yu.P. Maksimov, V.I. Varennikov, I.M. Tretyak, A.N. Yefimov, V.N. Chernavin, M.I. Sorokin, V.M. Arkhipov, V.M. Shabanov, N.V. Chekov, V.L. Govorov, D.S. Sukhorukov, Yu.A. Yashin, S.F. Akhromeyev, V.A. Vostrov, and L.S. Shustko.